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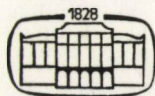
L. BENKŐ, K. BOLLA, M. HUTTERER, S. IMRE, GY. LAKÓ,
K. RADICS, S. ROT, GY. SZÉPE, ZS. TELEGDI

REDIGUNT

J. HERMAN ET F. KIEFER

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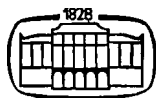
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EMPIRICAL AND THEORETICAL DATA OF LINGUISTICS

L. KÁLMÁN

0. Introduction

This paper is about the problem of the subject-matter of linguistics. The kind of subject-matter I have in mind is not what is constant from linguistic theory to linguistic theory (i.e., language), but rather what is different in them: the material they directly 'elaborate on'; namely, the body of data they take into account, explicitly or implicitly, when trying to depict their indirect subject: language itself. Nor do I wish to imply that this indirect subject does not exist. In fact, I do not even think that the character of the latter were in any way determined by the direct subject. Language as the subject of linguistics does indeed exist quite independently of such theories, in an objective and autonomous manner. On the other hand, the specific language models constructed by representatives of the said field actually depend on their choice of direct subject to a considerable extent.

Linguists, however, talk more about 'language' than their direct material; indeed, in many cases they find it indecent to present their data, empirical or otherwise. Consequently, the reader can, at best, infer or guess at these data, and especially at the author's theoretical presuppositions, on the basis of what is actually presented.

Section 2. of this paper will contain a short historical overview of conceptions of subject and methodology in linguistics. Thema in perspective of that overview will concern the various notions about the relation between linguistic signs and reality. Therefore, in section 1. I will draw a preliminary sketch of the problem of the most important aspect of that relation: the fact that signs carry information. Also in section 1. I will go into further details about the way I classify the 'direct subject', or data, of linguistics. Sections 3. and 4. will be devoted to an elimination of the contradictions discussed in section 2.; in particular, section 3. will deal with the direct subject of grammar while section 4. with that of pragmatics.

1. Preliminary remarks

1.1. 'Linguistic signs carry information'. This is how one particular feature of such signs, whereby they serve as a means of human communication, can be characterized in a concise manner. Of course, this formulation reflects a certain way of looking at things, just like all expressions of this form: 'signs mean something' (Morris 1955), 'signs symbolize something' (Morris 1955; Hjelmslev 1968), 'signs stand for something' (Peirce 1960), 'signs express something' (Frege 1962; Hjelmslev 1968), etc.; however, it is demonstrable that the range of phenomena usually referred to by terms like 'meaning', 'symbolizing', 'standing for', 'expressing', etc., constitute functions that are superimposed on 'carrying information' which is the primary function of signs. This is also clearly shown by the fact that the above expressions, as normally used, apply to signs but with certain restrictions: presumably all signs 'mean' something but only part of them 'symbolize' something; 'standing for' something is a fairly special case, whereas we know of no serious assumption stating that all signs characteristically 'express' something. Similar discrepancies are observable concerning the effect of speech situation on these phenomena: opinions differ on 'meaning', but 'symbolizing' and 'standing for' are context dependent in every conception and, to be sure, 'expressing' is also to be understood in the same way.

In order that 'carrying information' be a workable and primary notion, we shall define it so that no such restrictions should be needed: every sign carries information independent of the speech situation. One more point: information (unlike any of the secondary functions) is measurable.

The latter statement, I think, calls for some clarification. The normal measure of information (i.e. the degree of unexpectedness) is but a quantitative characteristic of the information carried by signs. On the other hand, the statement that linguistic signs carry information is generally interpreted in a qualitative manner. In what way can this kind of information be measured? In order to answer this question, I have to make a short digression.

If it were possible to know every physiological and psychological characteristic of a given person at a given point of time, it would probably be possible to predict all his actions and reactions with absolute certainty. That is, the probability of his producing a certain sign in a given context¹ would be

¹ Of course, the term 'context' is meant here to refer to '(situational) context of an utterance', rather than '(textual) context of a text or of components of a text'. The reason why I replaced the term 'speech situation' by the term 'context' is that the former, intuitively interpreted, suggests something external/objective. On the other hand, the latter term — in the sense in which I use it in the present paper — a) does not necessarily refer to the whole speech situation 'obtaining' but rather to what is important from the

1, whereas that of his producing any other possible sign would be 0. Although in reality the total context cannot be known even by the sign-producer himself, the type of context is always clear for all participants of the speech situation. Against this context type, then, the sign (or other manifestation) produced can be unexpected to various degrees. What does the degree of unexpectedness depend on? Obviously, it depends on the information (in the qualitative sense) carried by the sign. Thus, while the information value of a sign can be measured by its general unexpectedness, information in the qualitative sense can be measured by ascertaining how unexpected a sign is in which context types.

For reasons to become clear later on, in the above definition 'context type' refers to the context of the sign-producer; on the other hand, 'unexpectedness' is obviously used in the sense of informatics (where it is inversely proportional to relative frequency), rather than in the everyday sense (i.e. as 'not expected by a certain person').

It is also important to point out (as it is relevant for the discussion below) that contexts are made up by infinitely numerous components or factors, that is, the set of context types is infinite. Thus, the information carried by signs is only measurable when a selected range of possible context types has been set up.

In sum, the measure of information carried by signs is a distribution of probabilities among context types.² Since we are talking of context types rather than individual contexts, absolute prediction is out of question, i.e. the distribution cannot take the values 0 or 1.

In the process of communication, the sign perceived by the hearer decreases (if it does) the hearer's uncertainty by way of conveying some information, which, however, undergoes various types of interpretation during the act of understanding until it eventually becomes unambiguous. If we considered information from the point of view of understanding, we would be forced to allow the values 0 and 1, too, which would lead to a contradiction with the foregoing. Consequently, though we understand signs because they carry information, it does not follow that signs carry information in the way we understand them. Apart from the sign itself, what is relevant for understanding is only the context of the hearer: nothing else determines whatever the hearer understands and how he understands it. On the other hand, in the

point of view of controlling the speech activity, i.e. a part of the speech situation 'present in', or somehow 'having got into', speakers' minds (more generally, their physiological condition); b) on the other hand, it also involves the total amount of information that has got into speakers' minds (and has left its mark on them) prior to the time of the utterance.

² That is, context types are enumerated along the horizontal axis, whereas the vertical axis displays the probability values. The curve will obviously be made up by discrete points.

sign—context relation the relevant thing is the context of the sign-producer (speaker). This is why we use the term 'information' in the above, specifically 'understanding-independent' sense.

Returning to the traditional approach that concentrates on the secondary functions of signs and contrasting it with the foregoing considerations, a few further points can be made. It can be stated that, in the traditional conception of meaning, signs are inherently qualified to refer to certain things while they will never refer to others. In terms of the distribution of probabilities, this would mean that only values 1 and 0 occur. In fact, understanding is traditionally seen as not only the proof of whether information is conveyed, but also the authentic evidence and measure of its quality. However, it is only with the highest indulgence that the claim that signs carry information in this way can be taken as 'strong idealization'. Actually, it is something like an effort to calculate the area of a circle by first idealizing it into a square and then applying the formula of the area of the latter.

Our information model, working with the distribution of information value, allows to simulate the above procedure, i.e. the correlation of signs with notions, as well. That procedure corresponds to an enterprise to keep rearranging and renaming context types until eventually the distribution of probabilities exhibits a single instance of the value 1. The conglomerate of context types belonging to that value, then, could be termed 'the thing referred to by the sign'. Thus we would conclude that the sign referred to an abstraction: the one we just jockeyed out of the set of context types. That would cause trouble if we want to systematize the context types in order to examine more than one sign.

Incidentally, the claim that signs are used to refer to notions (and nothing else) cannot be maintained in a psychological sense, either. In fact, even if we were to assume that signs refer to notions, there would be no way to demonstrate that the *a posteriori* constructed abstractions thus appearing along the horizontal axis would correspond to these notions (Vigotsky 1967, 133—203).

1.2. Empirical vs. theoretical data

I will divide all data that serve as input to a linguistic model into these two categories. It is very important that we should not mix up these data and the apparatus of the model: the latter is used to formulate, on the basis of input data, hypotheses concerning the relations of the former.

Strictly speaking, most sciences never start out from data provided by direct sensory perception (if such data really exist at all). The initial data of any science reveal the fruitful impact of theory. Even measuring, a seem-

ingly most directly experimental procedure, must be preceded by theoretical considerations: What is to be measured? Why that? What kinds of measures will be used? etc. Well, what I am going to call *empirical data* is this kind of data — not strictly experimental but obtained by a selection of experience. Examples of such empirical data are information value or its distribution.

However, the most important methodological decision of this paper is not the distinction between empirical and theoretical data, but rather the lumping together of various sorts of *theoretical data* under that heading. For example, 'hypotheses' are normally distinguished from 'postulates' and the rest of similar theoretical data. The justification could perhaps be that hypotheses can after all be empirically verified or refuted, i.e. they are somehow bound up with empirical facts. On the other hand, the methodological principle followed in this paper can be supported by the fact that hypotheses are invariable within a single model (if they are altered, the model will be restructured accordingly), therefore they practically behave like any other type of theoretical data. By a unified treatment of theoretical data, then, certain disturbing devices, such as the sleight-of-hand use of the notion of 'hypothesis', can be excluded. We cannot assign a specific status to hypotheses if what is at hand is not the development of a model but its internal structure.

2. The traditional conception of subject-matter and linguistic methodology as reflected by the attitude to denotation

2.1. In the first and longest period of the history of linguistics, the relation between signs and reality was restricted to the relation between signs and the ideas they stood for. That relation was at least as unambiguous as that between speech and writing (Aristotle 1979, 73). The few cases in which the dependence of denotation on syntactic context was mentioned at all were cases of homonymy: the meaning of the structure in which the given sign occurred was just as unambiguous as that of any other sign.

2.2.1. The great turnabout ensued in the nineteenth century. It was W. von Humboldt's pioneering theory of language where the idea underlying that turnabout took shape. The theorem that signs did not refer to reality directly but stood for notions and therefore were connected with their denotata through man's intellectual activity was not a new one. What *was* new, however, was that in Humboldt's view the mediation was not performed by isolated 'notions', 'senses', 'intensions', etc. but by a socially codified system of psychic constructs inherited from generation to generation. The dialectics of language-as-object vs. language-as-subject follows from the duality of 'socially

codified' and 'psychic'. Language limits the individual speaker by compelling him to use certain formulas in certain speech situations. At the same time, the community of speakers continuously create their language and react upon it, whereby language gets totally built into the minds of individual speakers. In the influence of linguistic forms on man it is the principle of regularity that is manifested, whereas in the reaction of man to language it is the principle of liberty (Humboldt 1836, LV—LXXXI).

The notion of a 'socially codified system of psychic constructs' subsequently became the Leitmotif of nineteenth-century linguistics and psychology. But the Humboldtian dialectics of regularity and liberty did not create a proper response. Practically all the important post-Humboldtian linguistic philosophies were more restricted. The principle of regularity and the objectivity of language got more and more emphasis. Both the psychologist Wundt and the linguist Paul concentrated on the social universality of the system of constructs and notions (cf. Wundt 1912, 440—442; Paul 1920, IV). The principle of liberty only survived in the explanation of child language (Paul 1920, 86). The relation between man and language, as well as notions and signs, stiffened into a strict identity; liberty was only recognized, in connection with accidental but psychologically motivated associations, in the relation between notions and the world.

The dialectics of language, psyche, and reality stiffened in Saussure's teaching more than ever. In that sense, he is the great summarizer of the post-Humboldtian period. The dialectical opposition of liberty and regularity, based on 'the unity of human character', is light-years away from the Saussurean dichotomy of *langue* and *parole* which is, as it were, the direct denial of that unity. The principle of liberty only gets manifested, in Saussure's view, in individual speech situations (*parole*). The socially codified side of language (i.e., *langue*) shows no traces of modifications which are due to the activity of speakers, i.e. the manifestation of the principle of liberty. The act of signifying is a human activity, an act of *parole*, whereas the system of meanings is a set of abstract relations among signs, the relations of *langue* (Saussure 1955). The conjunction of the two is impossible, even formally, for Saussure.

2.2.2. It will be observed that, during a process which lasted from the middle of the nineteenth century up to the early years of the twentieth, linguistics gave up (for a while at least) the effort to explain the act of signifying with all its uncertainties. Although in post-Humboldtian linguistic philosophy and especially in Saussure's theory of signs the traditional conception (going back to Aristotle) of 'signs standing for notions' returns in its classical form, it is not the case that, as far as the approach to the relation between signs and reality is concerned, stagnation or regression characterized this period.

The introduction of a third factor into the relation between signs and reality (actually: signs and context), or rather, its separation from the context, has made an indelible impression on linguistics which remained there to this very day. That factor is the socially codified system of mental constructs, a factor that appears to be more and more autonomous, i.e. more and more independent of the speakers' minds. This system of constructs predominates still both our approach to language and our linguistic consciousness.

According to that approach, language is a kind of 'transformer': Language (abbreviated *L* below) transforms the intention of expression, coming from the context (abbreviated *C*) into utterances (abbreviated *U*) and also restricts the initial intentions of expression, causes loss of information, etc. In other words: language establishes a link between signs (*U*) and reality (*C*). Thus, language includes the relation between signs and the things signified, and is, at the same time, a socially universal formation. In what follows, we shall point out that, as far as the distinction between *C* and *L* is concerned, Humboldtian dialectics has been replaced by a serious contradiction.

2.3. Saussure's ideas have had a great effect on nearly all twentieth-century linguists. Their impact — as well as the multifariousness of twentieth-century linguistics — is partly due to the problematic aspects of his conception. Saussure's program could be construed in at least two different ways and the two versions have both proved to be totally irreconcilable.

As is well-known, Saussure declared that the primary aim of linguistics is the study of 'langue'. 'Langue' is, on the one hand, the system of relations between signs and their meanings; on the other hand, it is a system of rules that are, socially speaking, universally valid for speakers independently of the character of the actual context. If we interpret 'meanings' as relations between signs and reality (or, signs and contexts), i.e. relations expressible in terms of the distribution of information value, relations of meanings turn out to be context-dependent: relations among distributions of information value depend on relations obtaining in various context types. Thus, Saussure's system of meanings, in this interpretation of the term 'meaning', cannot be context-independent, i.e. a system of 'langue'.

Nevertheless, what is indubitably the most important linguistic trend of the twentieth century is based exactly on that self-contradiction, on the reconciliation of these two mutually exclusive aspects of the Saussurean notion of 'langue'. The other possibility, and one which seems to be more in keeping with Saussure's theory of signs, is that 'meaning' should be treated as an abstract relation among signs, i.e. independent of the act of signifying. In that case, however, we have to assume, as Saussure himself did, that meanings are solidary with signs: once we choose to disregard contexts, there is no way to explain the distinctness of signs and meanings.

The hypothesis that signs and meanings are in a solidary relation with each other leads to an unworkable notion of 'meaning'; in fact, it is tantamount to the exclusion of meaning from linguistic description. These considerations dominated in the theory of American descriptivists. All the other twentieth-century linguistic trends, however, are characterized by an evasion of the self-contradiction involved in the notion of 'langue'. In particular, semantic studies pursuing nineteenth-century traditions but coached in a novel terminology (especially theories of word meaning), as well as the tenets of the generativist school, born from an internal criticism of descriptive linguistics, assume the existence of a 'context-independent system of meanings'.

The last-mentioned theory is particularly remarkable for the following reason. Since it has a far more extensive literature than the other contemporary trend referred to in the previous paragraph, and since it is being followed and improved throughout the world, it tends to reveal the contradictory character of its starting-point more clearly than any other competing framework. Incidentally, the first manifestations of the generativist school (e.g. Chomsky 1957) did not actually surpass descriptivist traditions: their critique of descriptivism was quite of an ideological nature to begin with and raised such problems as could have been solved within the old framework as well (cp. Piattelli-Palmarini 1979, 69–71). As soon as generative grammar made the first steps towards the study of meaning and thus really began to transgress the confines of the descriptivist framework (Katz–Fodor 1963; Chomsky 1965), it swung into the other Saussurean alternative, the self-contradictory one: into the illusion of a context-independent semantic system, an idea that was already well-known at that time, e.g. in the form of field theories.

2.4.1. In the course of its critique of descriptive linguistics, generative grammar first discovered a formal apparatus whereby identical syntactic strings could be differentiated and different ones identified. This formal device was the deep structure which later on (in the standard theory of generative grammar) turned out to be the starting-point of 'semantic interpretation'.

One of the possibilities which the notion of deep structure has been evoked to provide (identical surface syntactic structures vs. several deep structures) exists within descriptive linguistics as well: the fundamental principle of the explanation of syntactic structures is 'analogy' there, and the generativist solution involving multiple deep structures can be exactly matched by a demonstration of the existence of multiple analogous structures. The difference is that generative grammar considers the existence of several analogues to be an inherent feature of the structure in question — in fact, this is only a matter of different formalization.

The identification of different syntactic strings is another matter. This identity relation is a matter of reference which gets into syntactic description via the use of paraphrases. We shall return to that point later on.

The fact that generative linguistics and other kinds of 'reconciliatory' trends are related, is quite clear in certain cases. It is sufficient to compare the generativist approach to word meaning (Katz—Fodor 1963; Katz—Postal 1964) with the conception of field theories or contextual semantics. The parallelism is less obvious in the case of sentence meanings. The difference, in generative grammar, between the formal representation of 'the internal structure of sentence meanings' and that of word meanings is simply due to the different characteristics of sentences and words: the internal structure of word meanings depends on how the given word fits into larger structures (being, at the same time, one of the criteria of that combinability which means that we are in a vicious circle), whereas sentences are combined into larger structures by very feeble links. Therefore, the internal structure of sentence meanings finds its way into the generativist analysis of sentences via deep structures, derivational history, etc., though the latter, just like the decomposition of word meanings, can be traced back to external criteria (in particular, the existence of utterances of analogous structure, or 'analogous meaning').

2.4.2. Of the two trends in contemporary linguistics referred to above, it is generative grammar whose literature is more extensive and whose linguistic philosophy is more elaborated. In that philosophy, results of the contradiction described in section 2.3. show up in a striking manner. The gravest of such results is the notion of 'competence' and the philosophical exaggerations that stem from it.

Competence is a very loosely defined term. We could summarize the main components of its definition as follows: 'that which makes people able to speak'. This definition (not too operational, to be sure) makes it quite difficult for a generativist to cope with what can be called 'man's non-linguistic consciousness'. Competence is sometimes taken to be a separate 'organ' which is part of human consciousness, whereas in other cases it is totally identified with it. The best evidence of the latter case is constituted by semantic rules which are meant to capture, in a categorical manner and possibly within syntax, all constructs, presuppositions, etc. of the human mind. As I have pointed out elsewhere (Kálmán 1980), Chomsky's so much debated nativism — exactly through these problems — is in a close connection with his generative grammar.

The notion of competence, and the efforts to construct a model of it, led to numerous difficulties even within the generative framework itself, namely in the debate concerning the validity of the Standard Theory. The aim of this theory (that grammar should generate 'semantically acceptable'

sentences) has more and more been taking the shape of the requirement that a generative grammar should account for the total 'semantic capacity' of competence. The principle of 'accounting' has turned of late into an independent driving force of the development of theories.

The touchstone of the evaluation or matching of structures of symbolic logic has always been how adequately they represent the main cognitive relations. A new theory of logic may be better than an old one just because it is capable of the symbolical representation of at least one cognitive relation that the other is not. This is how development in contemporary linguistics, too, goes. There is, however, an important difference: in linguistics, accounting for the identity or 'relatedness' of the meanings of two different signs is just as desirable as capturing, in a formalized fashion, the differences in the semantic relations of two (possibly identical) signs.

The apparatus of formal logic being as highly developed as it is today, there is obviously no serious obstacle to accounting for any number or kind of semantic relations. This must have been one of the reasons why this method has become predominant, even though it is a commonplace in linguistics that such distinctions have no natural limit (cf. Apresjan 1971, 21ff).

2.5. Boundless competence: boundless context

2.5.1. It is in this newest stage of development that the contradictory character of the notion of a context-independent semantic system really becomes obvious. As has already been mentioned, 'meanings' themselves can be considered context-independent in a specific sense (section 1.1.). Still, this does not entail that semantic rules could be context-independent, too. On the contrary: these are valid in terms of relations which obtain and which do not obtain between 'things-meant' within the actual context (or, world). Though the two stages of the development of generative grammar are not distinct in time, we can say that in the first period the important thing was the elimination of 'semantic errors'. This stage was characterized by an isomorphous treatment of syntactic and semantic errors (and, consequently, of syntactic and semantic rules); i.e. by the blurring of the essential difference between the two. This procedure, however, is possible only as far as no metalinguistic reference to contextual relations is needed.

The transition to explicit (and especially metalinguistic) reference to the context is a fairly gradual one. Various semantic relations are demonstrable in various ways and illustrations 'sound metalinguistic' to varying degrees. One thing is certain: this does not make one semantic relation more (or less) contextual than the other. Lies, mistakes, impoliteness, paraphrases, restrictions, implications, presuppositions all depend on relations obtaining in the context. That is, if we want to regularize or, in the case of lies, mistakes,

and instances of impoliteness, eliminate them, we cannot do so without referring to the things-meant; thus, any rule concerning these factors codifies some property of the context.

The notion of 'normal context' is but a momentary solution. If 'normal context' is where analytical sentences are true, contradictory ones are false, the most general implications and presuppositions hold good, etc., how shall we define 'analytic sentence', 'contradiction', or 'the most general implications and presuppositions'?

In addition, as had become quite clear for linguists by the seventies, there are finer semantic relations that are valid to various degrees even within the range of 'normal contexts'. Again, there are apparently 'normal' contexts where semantic regularities may apply in a rather peculiar way; such contexts include literary works, performative acts, various interpersonal situations, etc. In the investigation of literary, performative, conversational, etc. utterances, the context always has to be specified metalinguistically. It is no wonder therefore that the notion of 'competence' is the most 'boundless' in speech act theories: since verbal behaviour is one of the most important manifestations of man's conduct, the 'competence' of speech act theories must cover almost the entirety of human behaviour and must therefore contain "all" features of the contexts involved.

It is obviously not the case that semantic relations and rules are irrelevant or non-investigable for the linguist; still, we have to point out what contradictions stem from the effort to represent syntactic and semantic relations within a single model. As will become clear later on (section 3.), the failure of this effort is due to the fact that the two types of rules (irrespective of where we draw the line) necessarily differ in productivity.

2.5.2. The increasingly contradictory character of the central notions and basic assumptions of linguistics can thus be traced back to the idea of 'language as transformer', as well as the traditional conception of signification discussed in section 1.1. What is the essential point of the contradiction involved in the transformer scheme?

Let us assume that we can isolate that part of context (where C equals the speaker as a whole) which determines utterances or some of their features. If these features include relations of signification, i.e. context-dependent relations, L must involve correlations mapping elements of C onto elements of U (signification being interpreted as a $C-U$ relation). Since the context is made up by innumerable factors, and since the principle of 'accounting' (or 'explanation') develops the working capacity of the linguistic model in an extensive manner, language or competence (L) can be expanded beyond any limit and will model larger and larger sections of the working of human mind and man as a whole.

Of course, every new linguistic distinction implies a new contextual distinction as well; i.e. contextual relations getting built into language can be differentiated practically beyond any limit. In that process the difference between *C* and *L* gets lost (or, either of the categories *C* and *L* becomes superfluous); that is, the abstraction we have assumed in this discussion will lose its point.

That process also affects the interpretation of *U*: It is becoming obvious that making contextual relations explicit at the level of utterances is insufficient for the explanation of complex verbal behaviour. Therefore, *U* comes to stand for more and more things: for 'language manifested' in a wider and wider sense, ultimately encompassing the whole context.

I have touched upon numerous aspects of the reflection of that contradiction in the conception of linguistics. I have not yet mentioned the most important one, though: the fact that the inclusion of relations sensitive to changes of context in *L*, and the boundlessness of context, would lead, in principle, to a situation where ultimately individual contexts and individual utterances are mapped onto each other.

2.6. Summary

The fictive end-point of the tendency described in this section is an irresolvable self-contradiction and there is no natural landmark on the way to that end-point. The tendency itself can be traced back to two causes: a) the traditional conception of signification; b) the notion of 'language as transformer'.

The point of the transformer scheme is that the context includes a socially universal part that is responsible for the fact that utterances follow socially universal patterns. On the basis of the traditional conception of signification, this socially universal system (the *L*) involves sign—context correlations since signs inherently and in a socially universal manner refer to 'certain parts of reality'.

Actually, signifying relations are context-dependent; and since the context includes innumerable components, *L* cannot be modelled as a 'black box' i.e. cannot be a 'transformer' in the cybernetic sense. The only way to resolve this contradiction is to isolate a really context-independent system from *C* (this is the objective of section 3. below). This context-independent system would presumably be too narrow to qualify as 'language'. Therefore, we have to determine (section 4.) what other kinds of data are needed for modelling context-dependent relations.

The discussion in section 2. has also revealed that the subject-matter of that model will be considerably determined by a) the empirical data taken

into account (*C*, *U*, context-dependent and context-independent relations); b) the theoretical data (the notational system, ideas about the nature of *L*, as well as theoretical considerations preceding the empirical data); c) the way theoretical data will eventually get into the model (through the empirical data, through the conception of subject-matter and methodology, through the level of description, etc.). All that does not imply that we identify the indirect subject-matter, i.e. natural language, with these data.

3. Empirical and theoretical data of formal linguistic analysis (grammar)

3.0. Introduction to sections 3 and 4

The range of phenomena that we consider relevant empirical facts from a linguistic point of view should be observable in large numbers in actual speech situations, i.e. regular. Since human speech is a general (mass) phenomenon, obviously lots of such regularities can be found in it. Therefore, there is no such danger as linguistics has no subject-matter at all. Actually, this is our first, if seemingly trivial, theoretical datum: 'linguistic manifestations' must be distinguishable from everything else.

3.0.1. Whatever form that distinction may take, it implies an important point for the *a priori* classification of regularities. In particular, regularities may be of two types: a) regularities of the make-up of an utterance that are invariant through changes of context within a well-defined context type, i.e. regularities that can be determined without taking into consideration the contexts of utterances (where 'determined' means 'defined' rather than 'explored');³ b) regularities that can disappear, turn up, or get modified when contextual changes within a given context type take place, i.e. regularities that can only be determined in terms of the contexts of utterances.⁴

These two types of regularities will be termed 'grammatical' and 'pragmatic' regularities, respectively. The latter expression is not generally used in this sense; since, however, the term 'semantics' has been associated with the narrower interpretation of 'context', I wanted to avoid it and use 'pragmatics' instead.

³ Examples of such regularities include gender agreement in several European languages and vowel harmony in Hungarian.

⁴ E.g. the above-mentioned implicational relations or the rule that in Hungarian the suffix *-né* 'Mrs' cannot occur on women's first names.

3.0.2. 'Grammatical' as 'linguistic' vs. 'pragmatic' as 'contextual'

It is not a major departure from general usage if — for want of a better solution — we identify grammatical regularities with 'linguistic conventions' or rules that do not explicitly occur, or are not directly observable. On the other hand, for methodological reasons, we will not take even the most conventional pragmatic regularities to be 'linguistic conventions' in this sense.

The origin of pragmatic regularities is partly conventional, since the information carried by a given sign is, as it were, based on general consensus. However, the other prerequisite of the existence of pragmatic regularities, i.e. contextual relations, cannot be considered conventional. Although, to make things worse, many grammatical regularities could as well be construed as based on contextual relations, we must not hesitate in drawing the line between grammatical and pragmatic regularities, a point we have already made. Still, we have to see clearly that wherever we draw the line, it will directly determine our definition of 'language'. The existence of a natural boundary is not philosophically evident. When, however, we try to distinguish the two types of invariance in an exact manner, our primary aim is not to solve this (philosophical) problem, but to provide a useful and workable set of criteria.

3.0.3. The definition of grammatical and pragmatic regularities

With the help of the notions introduced so far, we are now in a position to provide a more exact definition of these two types of invariance. The following formulation seems to be a workable one: context-independent regularities may be violated in any context type with equal probability, whereas contextual ones are transgressed in specific contexts.⁵

3.1. The exploration of grammatical invariances

3.1.1. Infinite corpus and productivity

In order to make sure that a certain regularity is really broken with equal probability in any context, we need a corpus from all contexts.

⁵ The violation of a grammatical rule (e.g. **the my house*) may be caused by the context (e.g. if it occurs in a paper on linguistics), but it does not refer to the context (it does not evoke 'linguistics' for an outsider). The violation of a contextual regularity (e.g. *Dogs mew*), on the other hand, evokes the context of 'impossible (or fairly rare) utterance' for all speakers. Again, the speaker's agitated frame of mind may make him break a grammatical regularity; this, however, is not a special feature of the regularity which is being broken.

This requirement, however, would not be automatically fulfilled in the case of an 'infinite' corpus, either. In fact, what is called 'infinite corpus' is actually but a freely extensible one. It is another matter whether we really need, strictly speaking, all contexts: for example, it seems advisable to exclude speakers whose command of the given language is poor, those afflicted with certain kinds of mental disorder, etc. All these problems suggest that the infiniteness of a corpus should be achieved not by an infinite extension or extensibility of the empirical material but rather simulated with the help of theoretical data.

It is evident that theoretical data must primarily stipulate the productivity of rules for utterance construction. However, the age-old invention that symbolizing the structure of a text by abstract categories will provide productive rules of utterance construction is far from being unproblematic.

3.1.2. Productivity and category

First of all, we have to examine the definition of productivity. What is generally meant by 'productive rules' is that by 'filling in' each of their 'slots' by any element of a well-defined set of signs will provide 'acceptable' utterances. 'Acceptability' should have grammatical criteria. However, the grammatical criterion is that whatever is constructed according to grammatical rules is acceptable (well-formed). The only way to escape from that vicious circle is finding some independent criterion.

If we stick to the principle (and we hardly can do anything else) that the integration of morphemes or higher-level signs into complex ones be explained on a categorial basis, then 'categorial status' will be the only primitive feature signs and sets of signs can be assigned by a grammar; that is, nothing but the notion of category can provide an independent criterion for finding the condition of productivity. Accordingly, the above definition will be modified as follows: a rule is productive if filling each of its argument slots by any element of a well-defined set of signs will provide an utterance belonging to a given category.

3.2. Problems of 'category'

Since we take a grammar to be a system of productive rules of utterance construction, the problem of categorial status brings us to the core this system should emerge from. As a conclusion to this section, I shall enumerate three major difficulties concerning that problem.

The primary theoretical datum underlying the determination of categorial status is that utterances are constructed by the analogy of each other. Analogy is based on categorial status; the analogy of sign strings is normally established by exploring partial tallings.

3.2.1. The possibility of multiple analyses

There are two areas where such a possibility arises: the measurement of integration into a single sign and the establishment of categorial status.

As far as the indubitable empirical fact of integration into a single sign is concerned, ways of its measurement are well-known both for linearly consecutive and other types of signs. Analyses can only differ as to the subtlety of measurement or the fixing of threshold values. (Consequently, differences can emerge e.g. in judgements concerning the inhesion of sentence-like constructions.)

The situation is similar with multiple categorization: it is only with a pre-established degree of subtlety that the issue of what items behave similarly can be settled. There are various methods for doing so, including e.g. cluster analysis and factor analysis; further mathematical statistical considerations are needed to decide which method is the least distorting one. We should not think, however, that refining categories beyond all limits will entail that rules will also be refined beyond all limits and, in accordance with the notion of productivity based on acceptability, become ever more 'productive', since after a certain point category refinement will clash with the criterion of context-independence.

3.2.2. The second difficulty concerning categories, and one that is normally neglected, is the lack of rigidity. Categories are not of equal rank themselves: certain morphological categories and syntactic structures are so highly independent that they can determine the categorial status of any other element that enters into a syntactic relation with them.⁶

On the other hand, there is often some hierarchy within categories, too. Although we expect that the corpus should include representatives of all categories, it cannot be expected to include each and every element of every category and its whole paradigm. Therefore, in analysing e.g. an item like

⁶ Thus, the definite article can nominalize anything in Hungarian, a fact that is made use of in everyday speech, too. Similarly, proper names are exclusively formed in Hungarian with the help of syntactic structures characteristic of proper names (cf. Barabás—Kálmán—Nádasdy 1977).

constable we have to consider the possibility of the existence of a sign like *const*. The poorer the paradigm of a certain sign is in the corpus, the closer it is to 'phantom items' like *const*; and its categorization will be proportionately less valid in a statistical sense. This phenomenon is also well-known in everyday usage, since we come across unknown elements of our language fairly often. In such cases, speakers perform the same operation as a linguist does: they do their best to assign the given item to a category according to the syntactic structure it occurs in.

3.2.3. Finally, the most important problem (and one that will take us to the issue of pragmatic regularities) is the one involving the interdependence of various levels of analysis (elements, categories, and abstract structures). The traditional two-level analysis of strings of signs (strings of categories vs. individual elements) is in fact a dichotomous conception of syntactic structure. The most characteristic aspect of that dichotomy is the polarization of abstract vs. concrete linguistic entities; a string of signs is thus seen as an 'abstract' structure filled in with 'concrete' elements.

It is an interesting contradiction that this idea has survived undisturbed in twentieth-century linguistics, the greatest achievement of which appears to be the discovery of the possibilities of multi-level analysis. In that kind of analysis, along with dichotomies of 'abstract' vs. 'concrete' and 'structure' vs. 'filling in', a new type of duality emerges: that of 'productivity' vs. 'improductivity' (represented by structure-generating and slot-filling rules, respectively), given that structures are conceived as 'generated by rules' themselves).

Before commenting on this new dichotomy, let us demonstrate why the retention of the traditional ones in modern linguistics is unmotivated. First: in the multi-stage analysis, proceeding from an abstract category of 'sentence' towards less abstract categories, every step constitutes a 'filling in' of the result of the preceding one. All these slot-fillings or structural choices are just as context-dependent as those taking place in the 'preterminal string'. The appearance of elements of text is determined by the context, irrespective of whether they appear as concrete elements or as representatives of (more) abstract categories: elements carry information in both cases. Thus, the criterion of context-dependence conflicts with the claim that abstractness has but two grades.

Secondly: structure-generating and slot-filling are psychologically non-distinct processes. Structures are brought about by a concatenation of 'concrete' elements, a process determined by structure-creating rules. All that happens as a single act.

Turning now to the newly-established duality: it is simply a result of the misinterpretation of the notion of productivity. Whether a rule is productive or not is totally independent of the degree of abstractness of the

categories it applies to. Recall that the only proviso we made concerning these categories in the definition of productivity was that they must be well-defined ones. Why should more abstract categories be automatically better-defined than less abstract ones?

Incidentally, the claim that structure-generating rules are productive whereas slot-filling ones are not has another grave implication. Since categories based on signification (cp. section 1.1.) can never be well-defined ones, productivity is out of the question in the case of pragmatic categories; it is only rules applying to categories based on grammatical analysis that can be productive. Therefore, the dichotomy at hand — reflected by the overall structure of generative grammar — implies that abstract categories are grammatical, whereas concrete ones are pragmatic, an implication that is totally unacceptable; among other things, it is the fact that abstractness has several degrees that makes it be so.

3.3. Summary

This chapter has been devoted to data concerning the discernment of grammatical regularities from pragmatic ones as well as the nature of rules of grammar. The most important theoretical datum concerning grammatical rules was the condition of productivity; the exact definition of the latter involved the criterion of categorial status.

The kind of grammar we have been describing is obviously not identical with language; neither can we claim that it is an independent component of speech capacity. Therefore, we cannot expect that it should produce 'intelligible' or well-formed sentences. Strictly speaking, it cannot create utterances at all: utterances can only come about if there is a context that includes appropriate motives for the production of a certain type of utterance.

The condition of absolute productivity and other theoretical data based on it make it possible to simulate 'an infinite number of contexts' and thus to describe context-independent rules of utterance construction. The $C-G-U$ pattern (where G stands for 'grammar') enables us to explore regularities of the $C-U$ type.

No mention has been made here of the mechanism of grammatical description itself. The reason is that, by premising and utilizing theoretical data in advance, the structure of the grammatical model (as well as ways of improving it) can be totally separated from the choice and theoretical elaboration of input facts. Consequently, no further theoretical data will be introduced in the course of grammatical description; the mechanism of the model (e.g. whether it is generative or otherwise) will not influence the material processed.

4. The description of contextual regularities (pragmatics)

4.1. 'Explanatory power'

Of course, our 'universal' grammar (G) utilizable in any context is exactly what Saussure proposed under the label of 'langue' (according to one interpretation); it is also identical, however, with what all significant twentieth-century linguistic theories have been severely attacking because of its 'insufficient explanatory power'. These theories (above all, generative grammar) are, at the same time, averse to seeking a grammar-independent way of the explicit formulation of pragmatic regularities and brand the latter possibility as 'empiricism'.

Because of the requirement of universality/productivity, however, no pragmatic data capable of increasing 'explanatory power' can be introduced into grammar. What is the reason of the aversion to an explicit pragmatics distinct from grammar? It must be the fact that the explication of pragmatic data hidden in grammatical descriptions of the type referred to above entails that certain ontological presuppositions have to be accepted. It is generally believed that the evaluation of such presuppositions is 'alien to pure linguistics'.

In the case of pragmatics, premising certain theoretical data — which is not empiricism — can be performed the same way we saw in defining G . Our theoretical data will thus differ from hidden presuppositions of standard grammars in the place they occupy in the theory, rather than in character or heuristic value. Still, the difference is a significant one: theoretical data of a pragmatic nature introduced into grammars in a 'disguised' manner will increase the 'explanatory power' of the latter in a certain sense only. The explanation will not be of much power as its 'necessarily true' character is not based on the truth of the linguist's ideas but rather on the coherence of his descriptive mechanism which is, needless to say, a much weaker criterion (cp. Piattelli-Palmarini 1979, 516–524).

4.2. Theoretical data in pragmatics

4.2.1. The choice of empirical data

Pragmatic regularities, as is well known, appear in utterances in the form of various restrictions. The structure of utterances (U and G) is nevertheless an insufficient set of empirical data in itself for the exploration of such regularities, for two reasons. First: by definition, the larger number of individual contexts we take into consideration in examining utterances, the less valid our pragmatic regularities will turn out to be; in fact, they only occur in their

strongest form in 'manipulated' contexts. Secondly: the discovery of pragmatic regularities constraining productive grammatical rules will require the investigation of what does not occur. In the case of an infinitely extensible corpus this can hardly be anticipated.

The only promising method in investigating pragmatic regularities is to consider the data of both *U* and *C*. If we want to carry out that procedure in an explicit manner, we will have to start out from explicit empirical data concerning *C*—*U* relations, i.e. from the distribution of information values.

This means that pragmatic regularities can only be described on a contextual basis; even talking of such regularities does not make sense except if we look 'behind them' and try to find out their contextual origin (cf. 2.5.1. and 3.0.2.).

Pragmatic regularities, as we have already pointed out, go back to two factors, one of them being the fact that linguistic signs carry information, the other being the existence of contextual regularities. The input empirical data of a model of pragmatics are, then, the distribution of information values on the one hand, and some representation of regularities of context on the other.

Contextual regularities are infinite in number; we should select in advance those we think are relevant, relying on theoretical data. Without that selection, no distribution of information values will exist, either (cf. 1.1.). That is what explains the aversion to explicit pragmatics as well as the dangerous character of the explication of pragmatic presuppositions: we have to take sides concerning which contextual facts are linguistically relevant. If we selected our initial data without doing that, we could hardly expect anyone to acknowledge the relevance of our results. In what follows, the general form of that side-taking will be described.

4.2.2. Structuring the context

The complexity of a pragmatic system is largely determined by the universe of utterances (and the corresponding universe of contexts) it is based on: psychologists who call such pragmatic systems *standards* know that well and they are also aware of the fact that standardization is impossible, unless they severely restrict the universe of possible answers to their tests (and thus *G*, too), e.g. by multiple choice or subsequent coding.

The grammar of such tests as require actual linguistic utterances, rather than multiple-choice answers, is in fact much more complicated than that of any other type of standardized tests. The reason is that the universe of contexts underlying the distribution of information values is multidimensional.

The preliminary determination of a contextual system, i.e. the structuring of contexts, is based on the principle of the dimensionality of contexts.

The procedure of context-structuring itself is the determination of a given system of dimensions. 'Dimensionality' means that changes of context types are only possible in certain dimensions, or along certain axes. The change of context along a given axis (dimension) is non-continuous, however: it is also part of the procedure of context-structuring to describe the possible degrees or grades along each dimension.

Thus, a system of contexts highly resembles a calculus of logic; that resemblance is worth making use of in formalization: various dimensions will then correspond to various logical categories, while points of scales will correspond to the constants of the category in question.

4.3. The form of pragmatics

4.3.1. Pragmatic categories

Pragmatics is, essentially, a system of distributions of information values arranged along dimensions of context. In a pragmatic system of that kind, unlike in formal pragmatics which proponents of the 'modelling of natural languages', a trend going back to Montague's work, try to formulate totally on the basis of traditional denotational semantics, empirical data and theoretical presuppositions exist, just like in grammar, relatively independent of each other.

The principle of context-structuring means that we assume that each sign is sensitive to a certain type (or, a set of well-defined types) of context change. Thus, signs can be classified into 'dimensional types' or pragmatic categories. Whatever appears along the horizontal axes of the distribution-of-information-value matrix of a sign depends on its pragmatic category and the context types discernible (i. e. defined by theoretical data) within that pragmatic category.

The establishment of pragmatic categories, like the standardization of psychological tests, begins with setting up hypothetical categories. I am not quite sure (mere reasoning is not sufficient here), but I think that hypothetical pragmatic categories can be empirically justified (or modified, as the case may be) by exploring distributions of information values (cf. the analogous procedures of standardization).

4.3.2. Pragmatics and grammar

One of the most conspicuous characteristics of human language is that its grammar is relatively independent of the contextual setting. Grammar is responsible not only for the integration of signs in a grammatical sense, but

also for the integration of distributions of information values. The interconnection between pragmatics and grammar is obvious at this point: the integration of several signs into one sign is to be interpreted as indicative of the integration of the distributions of information values of the signs in question. As has been pointed out above, pragmatics makes it possible (on the basis of the information concerning the integration of signs provided by grammar) to predict the distribution of information values of strings of signs in terms of the distribution of information values of individual signs, especially in the case of loosely integrated signs but perhaps generally as well. That connection between pragmatics and grammar does not, of course, prevent us from classifying signs of the same grammatical category into different pragmatic categories or the other way round.

4.4. Conclusion

Pragmatic regularities of utterances cannot be explored totally the way grammatical invariances are described. Pragmatic regularities are not only translatable into contextual regularities but are also to be translated into them. This is necessarily so both in principle and in terms of methodology: the infinite extensibility of corpus and the infinite number of contexts make the structure of utterances an insufficient footing for capturing pragmatic regularities (since the latter appear as restrictions imposed on productive rules of grammar).

The interpretation of pragmatic regularities as contextual ones does not make sense unless pragmatics models relations relevant for utterances. The clue to that state of affairs is, on the one hand, setting up the right categories (i.e. assigning each sign a set of relevant 'axes' or dimensions of contextual change); on the other hand, specifying what qualifies as 'difference' along a given contextual dimension (i.e. fixing those context types occurring along the horizontal axes of distribution-of-information-value matrices). The two have been called 'context-structuring' together. We have also noted that context-structuring should be formalized with logical calculus.

Finally, we have pointed out that a context-structuring of a logical form enables us, in the course of a possible application, to utilize the empirical data of pragmatics (i.e. the distributions of information values) for predicting the expectable distribution of information values of complex signs (presumably by computing joint probabilities to be expected in various combinations of context types). The latter perspective, though it belongs to the realm of applied linguistics (in particular, that of content analysis), is an important reason why pragmatics should be made up by distributions of information values arranged according to context-structuring.

Topics that raise further problems and make some further elaboration of the theory necessary include a) the model of the unity (or, simultaneous act) of grammatical and pragmatic coding and decoding, respectively; b) the investigation of how to provide an exact definition of 'speaking' and 'understanding', especially with respect to 'motives of speaking' and 'depth of understanding', which is a prerequisite of our construction of an operative model of speaking or understanding. The theoretical framework outlined in this paper seems to be wide enough to be able to incorporate various answers to these questions.

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MEANING AND THE CHANGES OF THE MORPHOLOGICAL ARTICULATION OF WORDS AND CONSTRUCTIONS

(Synthetic and analytic types of changes in Hungarian)

S. KÁROLY

I. Introduction. Definitions of some basic concepts

One of the main areas where changes of semantic relations of complexes of signs take place is the linear (syntagmatic) sequence of signs. When speaking, we necessarily arrange linguistic units in such linear sequences.

In order to be able to investigate historical changes of the morphological articulation of words or lexemes, the first thing to do is to set up a typology of morphemes. The following classification of morpheme types seems to serve that purpose adequately.

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|---------------|
| 1. Major elements | A, B, C . . . |
| 1.1. Content words | |
| 1.2. Pronouns | |
| 2. Auxiliary elements | |
| 2.1. Affixes | aff |
| 2.2. Auxiliary words | |
| 2.2.1. Adpositives | adp |
| 2.2.2. Other types of auxiliaries | aux |

Further subclasses:

- | | |
|-------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1.1. Content words: | verbs |
| | nouns |
| | adjectives/numerals |
| | adverbs |
| 1.2. Pronouns: | nominal pronouns |
| | adjectival/numeral pronouns |
| | adverbial pronouns |
| 2.1. Affixes: prefixes: | <i>leg</i> (szebb) 'most (beautiful)' |
| suffixes: | (ház) <i>ban</i> 'in (the house)' |
| | (ház) <i>am</i> 'my (house)' |
| | (ház) <i>i</i> 'of (the house)' etc. |

2.2.1. Adpositives:

- prepositives: *a* (ház) 'the (house)'
nem (ember) 'not (human)' etc.
 postpositives: (ház) *mellett* 'beside (the house)'
 (ház) *is* '(the house), too' etc.
 pre/postpositives: *még* (fog) ~ (fog) *meg* '(hold) on'
 inpositives: (vér) *és* (arany) '(blood) and (gold)' etc.

2.2.2. Other types of

- auxiliaries: *hogy* 'that', *mert* 'because', *talán* 'perhaps', etc.

The above list of morpheme types is in need of some clarification. The division of all morpheme types into two fundamental categories, 'major elements' and 'auxiliary elements', is primarily motivated by an attempt to capture the essence of grammaticality as well as considerations of linguistic typology. In principle, four types of languages can be distinguished.

1. Non-language-like

- languages: A, B, C, D, \dots ,
 where A, B etc. are sentences
 (or rather utterances)

2. One-class languages:

- $A + B, A + B + C, B + D + E, \dots$,
 where A, B , etc. are formally unarticulated words
 and $A + B, A + B + C$, etc. are utterances

3. Two-class languages:

- (with grammar) $A + \text{aux} + B, A + B + \text{aux}, \dots$, where A, B , etc. are major elements, 'aux' stands for auxiliary elements and $A + \text{aux} + B$ etc. are sentences

4. Two-class languages:

- (with grammar and morphology) $(A + \text{aff}) + (B + \text{aff}) + C, \dots$, where A, B , etc. are major elements, 'aff' stands for affixes, parenthesized strings stand for word forms, and $(A + \text{aff}) + (B + \text{aff}) + C$, etc. are sentences

Languages of types 3 and 4, i.e. the two subtypes of two-class languages, can only be distinguished either theoretically or in terms of dominant characteristics as actually attested natural languages normally contain both affixes and auxiliary elements. This statement does not necessarily apply to artificial languages. Esperanto is like natural languages in this respect.

The question arises whether these theoretically distinct language types correspond to actual historical stages of the development of human languages.

That is, whether a development like this can be assumed: 1) the period of sentence-words (unarticulated utterances), 2) the period of one-class systems (words without grammar), 3) the period of two-class (grammatical) systems without morphology, 4) the period of two-class (grammatical) systems with morphology. The third period could perhaps be further subdivided into 3a. the period of two-class systems whose grammar consists of word order and melodic elements and 3b. the period of two-class systems with independent auxiliary elements. This question cannot be answered in purely linguistic terms: the way of linguistic development cannot be separated from what primitive people wanted to tell, which in turn depends on what they did, what kinds of tools they had and the way they lived in the most primitive societies.

The language types sketched above, interpreted as stages of development, heavily depend on their respective capacities. Sentence-word speech has the smallest capacity; a one-class linguistic system has a somewhat greater but also limited capacity since the increasing combinatory possibilities soon get hampered by ensuing ambiguities. Again, a grammar built on word order and melodic elements results in a smaller capacity than one where independent auxiliary elements have already taken shape. However, the problem of capacity is beyond the realm of linguistics. Therefore, a purely linguistic approach to the origin of language is nothing but speculation. The only promising approach is a complex one involving anthropology, psychology, archeology, the history of human work, linguistics, etc.

Word order used as a grammatical tool is a characteristic feature of two-class languages: it is a kind of auxiliary element (if a special one) introduced in addition to major elements. The same role can be performed by stress and pitch (suprasegmental features). However, word order and intonation still prove to be insufficient to let speakers form complicated utterances. Segmental auxiliary elements can be found in every known natural language; languages lacking such elements actually do not exist. This claim is also made by the distinguished specialist of structural typology, B. A. Uspensky (1965, 116). A primary, less sophisticated type of auxiliary elements is the class of auxiliary words. Perhaps the most natural way of their taking shape is through the "de-contentualization" of major elements, i.e. content words or pronouns. According to V. Skalička (1967, 75), "polysynthetic languages do not normally use formal elements. Such elements are replaced by lexical ones, thus bringing about a metaphor. Thus, the verb 'give' stands for 'dative case', the verb 'say' for 'that', the verb 'finish' for 'perfective aspect', etc."

A language making use of auxiliary elements has a grammar since auxiliaries and cocurrent major elements form various classes and enter into various distributional relations. Such languages consist merely of words: i.e. they do not include auxiliary elements that would form a single phonetic

unit with another (major) element. Such languages have a grammar, but lack a morphology: they do not exhibit word forms built up from various types of morphemes. Languages of this type actually do exist. Chinese is basically of this type though, as N. N. Korotkov (1968) points out, it also contains some affixes.

Another, more sophisticated kind of auxiliary elements is the class of affixes. Affixes are morphemes linearly attached to, and thus dependent on, stem/root morphemes. In terms of their position, affixes can be subdivided into prefixes, suffixes, infixes, and confixes. Hungarian nearly exclusively uses suffixes; perhaps the superlative marker *leg-* is an example of prefixes. L. Antal (1959) proposes that the *i* of *házaim* 'my houses' be interpreted as a plural morpheme infixed into the personal suffix *-am*. Note that in this case the first person singular personal suffix would be a non-continuous morpheme (*-a . . . m*).

According to their position auxiliary words can be divided into two categories. The first category includes elements whose position is bound: they occur before the main element they are attached to, after that element, optionally either before or after that element, or between two main elements. This is the class of appositives; the positional subclasses include elements of various functions. Thus, prepositives do not only include prepositions (of other languages) but also definite and indefinite articles. Postpositives include, apart from postpositions, e.g. the conjunction *is* 'also'. Pre/postpositives are represented by verbal prefixes in Hungarian; these elements either precede or follow the verb but form a close semantic unity with it anyway. I consider the conjunction *és* 'and' to be an inpositive as it occurs between the two linked main elements. The second category (called 'other types of auxiliaries' here) includes morphemes whose position is free, i.e. cannot be defined in terms of the position of a main element. This emphasis on positional considerations is motivated by the topic of this paper: word order plays a major role in the linear arrangement of morphemes and in the changes in that arrangement. In my framework, appositives stand halfway between affixes and 'other types of auxiliaries'. Their ordering restrictions make them similar to affixes; their independent phonetic shapes, however, make them belong to auxiliary words.

II. Types of changes of morphological articulation

Changes of linear strings of morphemes (words, lexemes, syntagms, strings of syntagms) are of two main types: quantitative changes (decrease or increase of the number of morphemes involved) and qualitative changes (of the character of morphological articulation). Strings of morphemes will become *more synthetic* if their articulation decreases; they will become *more analytic* if

their articulation increases. Since articulation entails semantic motivation, the change of articulation brings about a change of motivation as well.

Qualitative changes of morphological articulation can be defined as changes where the number of morphemes remains unaltered but their type (main element, affix, auxiliary) becomes different. The two possible directions of such changes are the *agglutinational* direction (two words are united into one word) and the *isolational* direction (one word is divided into two words). In a broader sense, agglutination is a synthetic type of change whereas isolation is an analytic type of change; still, quantitative and qualitative changes should not be confused.

The synthetic and analytic types of development play a very important role in typological changes of languages. This is what V. Tauli (1966) points out in connection with an overview of tendencies of structural changes in Uralic languages. Of course, he also considers paradigmatic types of changes when e.g. a more synthetic structure is *replaced* by a more analytic one, e.g. *írand* → *írni fog* 'will write' in Hungarian. From the point of view of the direction of the change of a language, such paradigmatic replacements are of utmost importance. However, in this paper we shall be concerned with a more limited range of phenomena: changes of the linear arrangement of elements. The difference of the two changes can be illustrated as follows:

- | | |
|-------------------------|--|
| 1. Linear change: | <i>uru + szág</i> → <i>ország</i> 'country' |
| 2. Paradigmatic change: | <i>fiú + nak</i> → <i>fiú + számára</i>
'for (the) boy' |

A general scheme of the main types of quantitative changes of morphological articulation is the following:

	Restructuring	Shortening	Addition
Synthetic direction	$a + b \rightarrow c$	$a + b \rightarrow a$	—
Analytic direction	$a \rightarrow b + c$	—	$a \rightarrow a + b$
Neutral direction	$a + b \rightarrow c + d$	—	—

1. Quantitative changes of morphological articulation

1.1. Synthetic direction

1.1.1. Restructuring: $a + b \rightarrow c$ (Blurring)

1.1.1.1. $A + B \rightarrow C$. Blurring of compounds

1. Compounds of *content words*. — The arbitrariness of the linguistic sign (the claim that the connection between a linguistic sign and reality is a superficial one) involves a self-contradiction. Some elements of the word stock of a language are onomatopoeic; in such cases, there is a real connection be-

tween the sign and the signified entity. The majority of lexical items is not onomatopoeic. Still, in most cases they are motivated, i.e. they can be traced back to other words or strings of words (compounds, derived words, words that have undergone semantic change). The overwhelming majority of non-transparent words are assumed to have once been motivated; this assumption is normally borne out by etymological research. Motivation entails that the word in question refers to reality indirectly, via the meaning of its component parts. Most Hungarian words that are unmotivated (non-transparent) today are known to have been motivated earlier, i.e. to be *blurred* compounds, derived words or words undergone semantic change. Thus, as far as the arbitrariness/non-arbitrariness of words is concerned, a circular motion can be observed in each particular language: new words are normally formed from old ones and thus they are non-arbitrary though later on some of them become non-transparent and count as arbitrary for the present-day speaker. This general tendency can be well attested in the history of Uralic languages, too. (V. Tauli (1966, 275–276) devotes a separate chapter of his book to this phenomenon. The shortness of the chapter is explained by the fact that this is not a specific Uralic tendency but rather a general one.) Á. Sebestyén (1965), generalizing his findings concerning the origin of Hungarian postpositions, speaks of “the great circulation of linguistic elements”.

The blurring of compounds takes place in several distinct stages. The blurring is the most complete if both (or all) members of the compound have undergone a formal change and thus cannot be identified with the corresponding independent words. E.g. *nép* (*nő* + *fi*) ‘people (woman + man)’, *orca* (*orr* + *száj*) ‘face (nose + mouth)’, *ünnap* (*id* + *nap*) ‘holiday (holy + day)’, *jámbor* (*jó* + *ember*) ‘pious (good + man)’, etc. As the *ünnap* example suggests, the members of a compound can be obsolete outside the compound. Sometimes, compound members preserve a more ancient form and the independent version deviates from that form. Such is the *né-* of *nép* which is more ancient than the independent *nő*.

A less complete stage of blurring is when speakers cannot identify but one of the members of a compound. E.g. obs. *tábitszoknya* ‘silk shirt’ (*tábit* ‘a kind of silk’), *takonypóc* ‘snotty-nosed’ (where *póc* is a dialectal version of *polc* ‘shelf’), *felebarát* ‘neighbour (in a religious sense)’ (where *fele* is the possessive form of obs. *fél* ‘mate’).

The weakest stage of blurring is when one or both members of the compound have undergone semantic change and the whole compound is therefore non-transparent for the present-day speaker although both members are formally identifiable. E.g. *együgyű* ‘simple-minded’, *árnyékszék* ‘toilet’, obs. *főlszék* ‘high stool’, obs. *búzaszék* ‘grain of wheat’ (with obs. *szék* ‘grain’), obs. *tikmonyszék* ‘yolk’, *szerszám* ‘tool’. Of course, Horger (1926) is right in claiming that “there are numerous transitional shades between fully transparent and

totally blurred; one speaker may feel or at least guess the compound character of a word whereas the other may not”.

Blurred compounds occur in particularly large numbers in Hungarian dialects where the orthography has not preserved the original components. E.g. *dölöktüő-nap* (for *dologtevő nap* ‘workday’), cp. Imre (1973); *göndicslapozó* ‘a kind of framed beehive’ (from the surname of Benedek Göndöcs, a famous bee-keeper), cp. Bálint (1957).

Perhaps the largest number of blurred compounds belong to geographical names. It is obvious that transparency is less important in proper names since they are primarily used for identification. (This is why it is sometimes maintained that proper names have no meaning.) The role of blurred compounds in Hungarian place names is excellently demonstrated by D. Pais (1912) in a paper where the author presents numerous compounds involving *aszó* ‘dry valley’ (*Szárszó, Berekszó, Barkaszó, Kajászó, Fonyászó*, etc.).

Another area where blurred compounds may have a major role is that of nicknames. As P. B. Gergely (1977, 140, 101, 180) demonstrates, in the lexical set of nicknames of Kalotaszeg (i.e. in nicknames made up of lexical elements of the language) the share of compounds is nearly 8% (109 items). The author does not treat blurred compounds separately but among the 488 nicknames of unknown or uncertain origin she lists a large number of compounds (*Cigány-leány* ‘Gypsy Girl’, *Félkenyér* ‘Half Loaf’, *Istenkarika* ‘God’s Ring’, *Keresztanyó* ‘Godmother’, *Kutyakántor* ‘Dog Cantor’, *Újgazda* ‘New Farmer’). These names are characterized as names of unknown origin because the informants did not know why they were used or where they came from (as names). Thus, such names can be considered to be blurred compounds as nicknames though they are transparent from a general point of view (except for *Istenkarika* and *Kutyakántor* which are unclear as common nouns, too). In addition, most nicknames that do not consist of lexical elements “do not have any semantic reference for their present-day users”, they “belong to names of unknown motivation which is not surprising since a phonetic shape lacking a lexical/semantic content can more easily lose contact with its motivation . . . than a meaningful word”. We might add that its form will also get deformed more easily, a remark that also applies to the reasons why compound common nouns get blurred. It is probable that the non-lexical nicknames listed include items that used to consist of lexical elements but these elements lost their semantic content, got deformed, and were thus isolated from their common noun equivalents.

A kind of word formation similar to blurring is *c o n t r a c t i o n*. The difference is that blurring is a slow process which is distinct, temporally speaking, from the process of compounding (see 2.1.1). In the case of contraction, compounding and blurring takes place simultaneously as a certain speaker, artificially, performs both things at once. Thus, the language community is unable to detect the underlying elements right after the coining of the compound. This

way of making new words was very fashionable in the nineteenth century, in the period of what is known as the 'neologistic movement' in Hungary, e.g. *csőr* '(bird's) bill' (*cső* 'pipe' + *orr* 'nose'), *rovar* 'insect' (*rovátkolt* 'grooved' + *barom* 'animal'), *higany* 'mercury' (*híg* 'fluid' + *anyag* 'material'), etc. Today, it is widely used in all languages, e.g. *GYŰMÉRT* (*gyümölcs* + *értékesítő* + *vállalat* 'Fruit Selling Company'), *FEDOSZ* (*fehérneműipari* + *dolgozók* + *kisipari* + *szövetkezete* 'Underwear Makers' Cooperation'), etc. An example of the fast blurring of the motivation of such coinages is the most popular Hungarian contraction *KÖZÉRT* (homonymous with *közért* 'for the public') which I am (and have always been) unable to interpret as *Községi* + *élelmiszerkereskedelmi* + *részvénytársaság* 'Communal Food Selling Company'. — Contraction is also used in proper names. P. B. Gergely (1977, 173) quotes a dozen of such forms used in Kalotaszeg: *Kicsi Nani* → *Csinani*, *Tordai Gyuri* → *Tódagyú*, *K. Istók* (for *Kovács Istók*) → *Káistók*, etc.

A still more 'drastic' way of contraction is the coining of initial-words made up by the initials of the underlying sequence of words, e.g. *MÁV* (*magyar* + *állam* + *vasutak* 'Hungarian State Railways'), *MSZMP* (*magyar* + *szocialista* + *munkás* + *párt* 'Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party'). The motivation of initial-words is normally blurred even more quickly than that of contracted words as the basis for guessing is even more limited.

2. Compounds one or both members of which are pronouns. — Many Hungarian pronouns have taken shape by the compounding of two simple pronouns; later on, the members of such compounds more or less lost their transparency either on formal or on semantic grounds (or both). Such forms are the demonstrative pronouns *ugyanez* 'this same', *ugyanaz* 'that same' (from the adverb *úgyan* 'so' + the demonstrative pronouns *ez* 'this', *az* 'that'); the interrogative pronouns *kicsoda* 'who', *micsoda* 'what' (from the interrogative pronouns *ki* 'who', *mi* 'what' + the noun *csoda* 'wonder', cp. *ki a csoda* 'who on earth', *mi a csoda* 'what on earth'); the relative pronouns *aki* 'who', *ami* 'what' (from the demonstrative pronoun *az* 'that' + the relative pronouns *ki* 'who', *mi* 'what'); the indefinite pronouns *valaki* 'somebody', *valami* 'something' (from the verb *vala* 'used to be' + the relative pronouns *ki* 'who', *mi* 'what', cp. *van, ki* 'there is (somebody) who', *van, mi* 'there is (something) that'); and the general pronouns *mindenki* 'everybody', *mindenhol* 'everywhere' (from the general pronoun *minden* 'every(thing)' + the relative pronouns *ki* 'who', *hol* 'where'). This is not a complete list. The meanings of such compounds (except for *kicsoda*, *micsoda* that are stylistic variants of *ki*, *mi*) are different from a simple sum of the meanings of their components, owing to the fact that they took shape in sentences, rather than in isolation.

1.1.1.2. Auxiliaries derived from major elements: $A + B \rightarrow \text{aux}$;
 $A + \text{aux} \rightarrow \text{aux}$

Two major elements can be compounded and turned into auxiliaries in sentences, e.g. *holott* 'whereas' (*hol* 'where' relative adverbial pronoun + *ott* 'there' demonstrative adverbial pronoun; the compound first meant the same as *hol*, later on it turned into a concessive conjunction); *jóllehet* 'although' (*jól* 'well' adverb + *lehet* 'may be' verb → concessive conjunction); *tudniillik* 'namely' (*tudni* 'to know' infinitive + *illik* 'is proper, is good manners' verb → circumstantial conjunction); *úgyhogy* 'so that' (*úgy* 'so' adverb + *hogy* 'that' conjunction → consecutive conjunction); *noha* 'though' (*no* 'come come' interjection + *ha* 'if' conditional conjunction → concessive conjunction); *demaga* 'but' (*de* 'but' contrastive conjunction + *maga* 'self' pronoun → contrastive conjunction). The last example would properly belong to type 1.2.2 since the element *maga* only adds emphasis but the meaning of *de* is not altered.

1.1.1.3. The members of the compound are auxiliary words:

$\text{aux}^1 + \text{aux}^2 \rightarrow \text{aux}^3$; $\text{aux}^1 + \text{aux}^2 \rightarrow A$

There are also examples of compounded and blurred auxiliary words: *mintegy* 'roughly, about' (*mint* 'like' conjunction + *egy* 'a' indefinite article → adverb); *mintha* 'as if' (*mint* 'like' conjunction + *ha* 'if' conjunction → conjunction); *hanem* 'but' (*ha* 'if' conjunction + *nem* 'not' negative particle → conjunction); *sem* 'nor' (*is* 'also' conjunction + *nem* 'not' negative particle → negative particle).

1.1.1.4. Blurring of derived or inflected words.

$A + \text{aff} \rightarrow B$

The 'circulation' mentioned above in connection with compounds, resulting in motivated (transparent) words becoming unmotivated (non-transparent), applies to derived words much more frequently than to compounds. In this case, an *en gros* linguistic change is going on. Some 10% of *a*-initial words listed in The Historical-Etymological Dictionary of Hungarian are blurred derivations. (The sample is too small for a representative statistics but the rough proportions are clear.) The fact that a significant part of the Hungarian word stock belongs here is confirmed by etymologists' experience: one of the most troublesome obstacles of setting up correct etymologies is the difficulty of finding out the relation obtaining between a root and a derived form: whether a given word is historically analysable (into root + derivational suffix or suffixes); if it is, what the original shape of root and suffix and their original semantic relation could be; etc. The reason why blurred derivations occur more frequently than blurred compounds might be that an affix is less independent than a word to begin with, both in terms of its form and its meaning; thus, minor formal or semantic shifts can obstruct their separation from the root. That is, a derived form can easily be isolated from other structures of the system involving its components. This isolation can be brought about by

several distinct reasons: one of the components may become obsolete; one or both components may undergo formal changes either within or outside the derived form in question; one or both components may undergo semantic shifts, and so on. "Isolation, thus, is a total loss of such associative links as formerly bound up a word or a construction with its etymological or grammatical category" (Horger 1926, 72). Horger's approach to isolation is based on H. Paul's opinion presented in the chapter entitled 'Isolierung und Reaktion dagegen' of his book (Paul 1920, 189). Horger's term (a fitting one) for the opposite of isolation is *bunching*. Both Paul and Horger emphasize, in discussing isolation and its opposite, both sides of language: form and meaning and their changes. (Saussure, on the other hand, discusses the blurring of compounds under 'Conséquences grammaticales de l'évolution phonétique' (Saussure 1916, 217ff) which is less approvable.) It is to be regretted, incidentally, that these two important notions of historical linguistics (isolation and bunching) seem to be missing from recent studies in diachronic linguistics (cp. e.g. Bárczi 1953 and Bartha 1958 both of which are otherwise excellent papers).

We have pointed out three possible reasons of the isolation of derived words. Of course, these reasons can be operative simultaneously as well, or one can trigger the other(s). We shall present three examples each of which will show one dominant reason. The word *ajak* 'lip' is felt to be unmotivated today as its root, *aj* 'slot', is obsolete. The word *agancs* 'antler' is a nineteenth-century neologism from *ág* 'branch'; since, however, the new word was formed with *a*, rather than *á*, it has become isolated from *ág*. This isolation would not have taken place if the form *ágazat* 'ramification, section' had been chosen to mean 'antler'. (Similarly, *büszke* 'proud' got isolated from its root, *bűz* 'stink', by way of an internal sound change.) Finally, *állat* 'animal' is isolated from *áll* 'stand' on semantic grounds, since its other meanings (such as 'thing', 'creature', etc.) have got extinct and it has lost its old syntactic context (*lelkes állat* 'animate being').

Not only derived but also inflected forms can get blurred. This is how adverbs are normally formed: *reggel* 'in the morning' (*reg* 'morn' + *vel* 'with'), *most* 'now' (*ma* 'today' + *st* 'obsolete inflectional suffixes'), *itt* 'here' (*i* pronoun + *tt* 'locative inflection'), etc. Why is blurring so characteristic of this part of speech even though its items are major elements? Such great extent of blurring is normally characteristic of auxiliary elements (affixes, appositives, auxiliary words) only. This is just the explanation, or at least part of it. Adverbs are major elements from a syntactic point of view: they can function as independent syntaxemes (main parts of syntagms) as opposed to auxiliary elements that cannot. Still, their meaning is close to relational postpositions and some of them are pronoun-like (pronouns, in turn, are mostly unanalysable or consist of blurred elements). Adverbs, auxiliary elements and pronouns which "replace" content words have this much in common: all of them express basic

meanings that are very frequently needed but (or: thus) their number is limited, they can be listed, and their list is growing much less easily and less quickly than that of content words. Most of them belong to the oldest layer of the language: this is one reason why they get blurred so often. On the other hand, their high frequency also requires that they be elementary tools so that their use in communication should not be complicated by 'associative switches' which waste energy (however small that energy may be). In the case of content words, transparency constitutes a stylistic 'advantage' in that it enriches the associational background. In the case of auxiliary elements, this is normally superfluous. — As to the concrete reasons of the isolation of adverbs, these are identical with those of the isolation of compounds and derived words discussed above. These are dealt with in detail in Simonyi (1892, 329).

1.1.1.5. A + aff → app. The rise of postpositions and other auxiliary elements

Hungarian postpositions are not simply content words having turned into auxiliaries; they are brought about by the blurring of inflected major elements. The oldest postpositions are assumed to go back to possessive constructions where the possessor was uninflected, and the would-be postposition, i.e. the thing-possessed, had some (locative) inflection: *fa + al + (a)tt* 'tree + lower part + at' = 'under (a) tree'. The trouble with this explanation is that the roots of the oldest postpositions never have a possessive personal suffix (e.g. *al(att)* 'below', *fel(ett)* 'above', *köz(ött)* 'between') as opposed to more recent ones (*fejében* 'in return for', *számára* 'for', *részére* 'for', *terén* 'in respect of', etc.); possessive constructions of older postpositions, in turn, are later developments since here the thing-possessed is an inflected postposition (*fának alatta* 'under (a) tree'). I think, therefore, that the oldest Hungarian postpositions (which in turn served as analogical patterns for newer ones) must have been (inflected) second parts of compound-like attributive (but not possessive) constructions: *fa al + att* (cp. obs. *féal*). (The exact phonetic reconstruction is omitted here.) Such constructions, then, would mean something like 'tree lower part + at'. Later on, the components of *al + att* got blurred, and the whole thing turned into an auxiliary (in particular, a postposition) and was freely attached to nouns that could not govern *al* as a content word: *reménység alatt* 'under (the) hope'. The postposition *alatt* could then take personal suffixes (*alatt + am* 'under me', *alatt + ad* 'under you', *alatt + a* 'under him'), cp. *alattok* 'under them' (Jókai Codex); postpositional constructions could also be transformed into possessive expressions like *szent ferencnek alatta* 'under Saint Francis' (Jókai Codex). The latter, more analytic construction belongs to type 1.2.2.4. (since it is a secondary development). On the other hand, recently formed postpositions and 'expressions that occasionally serve as postpositions' follow the last-mentioned pattern which also indicates the stages of the blurring process.

A nice example of the parallelism of older 'major element + aff' and more recent 'major element + aff (personal suffix) + aff' postpositions (where both versions go back to the same root) is older *hely* + (e)*tt* 'instead of' vs. more recent *hely* + *é* + *ben* 'in place of'. The postposition *helyett* is constructed like *alatt*, or like the adverb/preverb *hanyatt* 'on one's back', or indeed the pronouns *itt* 'here' and *ott* 'there'. None of these forms involve a personal suffix.

This type also includes, along with postpositions, *hanyatt*-like preverbs (verbal prefixes), e.g. *agyon*- 'to death' (*agy* 'brain' + *on* 'on'), *hátra*- 'backwards' (*hát* 'back' + *ra* 'to'), *előre*- 'forwards' (*elő* 'front' + *re* 'to'), and even *elő*- itself: *el* 'front' + *é~ő*; as well as derivational suffix-like elements like *-kora* '-sized' (*kor* 'age' + *ú~a*), *-beli* 'belonging into' (*bél* 'inner part, bowels' + *i*), *-szerű* '-like' (*szer* 'implement' + *ű*), *-féle* 'of a kind' (*fél* 'mate' + *e*), *-rétű* '-fold' (*rét* 'layer' + *ű*), *-nemű* '-type' (*nem* 'sort' + *ű*), etc. The verbal prefix *utána*- 'after' (*út* 'way' + *a* (personal suffix) + *n* (locative inflection) + *a* (personal suffix)) goes back to the postposition *ut* + *a* + *n* (cp. obs. *uta* = *útja* 'his way').

1.1.1.6. $\text{aff}^1 + \text{aff}^2 \rightarrow \text{aff}^3$. The blurring of complex suffixes

It is often the case that two consecutive affixes of a form coalesce into one complex suffix and get blurred the same way as compound and derived forms do. This is especially often the case with so-called 'bunches of derivational suffixes', i.e. complex derivational suffixes.

Blurring is sometimes caused by a phonetic change of the suffix; this is how forms involving hidden derivational suffix components come about. E.g. the *á/é* of *-ás/és* '-ing', the *u/ü* of *-ul/ül* 'in (some) manner', as well as both components of *-tyű/tyű:t* + the antecedent of *-ó/ő*.

Complex derivational suffixes can be classified from a semantic point of view as follows:

1) Iteration of identical components (of identical meaning): the new suffix is a stylistic variant of the old one. Examples: *-lal* (*-l* + *-l*, causative suffixes): *hiz* + *lal* 'make fat'; *-tat* (*-t* + *-t*, causative suffixes): *al* + *tat* 'make sleep'; *-dad* (*-d* + *-d*, diminutive suffixes): *kis* + *ded* 'tiny'; *-attat(ik)* (*-at* (*~tat*) + *tat(ik)*, passive suffixes): *hoz* + *attatik* 'is (being) brought'.

2) Concatenation of suffixes of identical meaning. Examples: (The beginning of the connection between two suffixes will be referred as "initial state". The fact that the connection has already come about, that it is well-established, will be referred to as "steady state".)

-aml (*-m* + *-l*, instantaneous suffixes):

initial state: *csusz* + *am(ik)* and *csusz* + *aml(ik)* 'slither'

steady state: —

gyül + *eml(ik)* 'accumulate'

-dos (*-d* + *-s*, iterative suffixes):

initial state: *bök* + *öd* and *bök* + (ö)*d* + *ös* 'keep poking at'

steady state: — *kap* + *dos* 'keep grabbling at'

-doz (*-d* + *-z*, iterative suffixes):

initial state: *él* + *ed* and *él* + *ed* + *ez* 'begin to revive'

steady state: — *hajl* + *adoz* 'keep bowing'

Here, the complex suffix is more emphatic than its single components; the blurring of the first component might be responsible for its coming about like in the previous group.

3) Concatenation of suffixes of different meaning. The meaning of the new suffix is not simply the sum of those of the components. Examples:

-gat (*-g* + *-t*, iterative + causative suffixes):

initial state: *for* + *og* and *for* + (o)*g* + *at* 'revolve; make revolve'

steady state: — *beszél* + *get* 'be talking'

-lkod(ik) (*-l* + *-kod*, denominal and deverbal verbal suffixes):

initial state: *rest* + *el* and *rest* + *el* + *ked(ik)* 'be ashamed (of)'

steady state: — *lustá* + *lkod(ik)* 'idle (away one's time)'

-dalom (*-d* + *-al(o)m*, iterative verbal suffix and deverbal nominal suffix):

initial state: *fár* + *ad* and *fár* + *ad* + *al(o)m* 'get tired; fatigue'

steady state: — *kés* + *edel(e)m* 'delay'

-más (*-m* + *-ás*, instantaneous verbal suffix and deverbal nominal suffix):

initial state: *fut* + *am(odik)* and *fut* + *am* + (od)*ás* 'flee; flight'

steady state: — *lát* + *omás* 'vision'

-skod(ik) (*-s* + *-kod*, denominal nominal and verbal suffixes):

initial state: *kedv* + *es* and *kedv* + *es* + *ked(ik)* 'pleasant; (try to)

please sy'

steady state: — *butá* + *skod(ik)* 'is being silly'

-zat (*-z* + *-at*, denominal verbal and deverbal nominal suffix):

initial state: *bolt* + *oz* and *bolt* + *oz* + *at* 'vault (v); vault (n)'

steady state: — *homlok* + *zat* 'façade'

-atag (*-at* + *-ag*, deverbal verbal and nominal suffixes):

initial state: *görg* + *et* and *görg* + *et* + *eg* 'roll (causative); scree'

steady state: — *oml* + *atag* 'crumbling (adj.)'

4) The two suffixes often cooccur but we have no 'steady state' examples even in papers where the concentrated suffixes in question are taken to be complex suffixes (Tompá 1961—62, Bartha 1958). Examples: *-ható* 'possible to . . .', *-hatatlan* 'impossible to . . .', *-ós* 'of a certain quality', *-ságos* 'characterized by being . . .'. These are always separable as *-hat* + *-ó*, *-hat* + *-atlan*, *-ó* + *-s*, *-ság* + *-os*; their semantic articulation corresponds to this formal seg-

mentation, thus we are not forced to analyse *jóságos* 'good' as *jó* 'good' + *ságos* as opposed to the actual (*jó* + *ság*) + *os* '(good + ness) + ful'.

In languages whose affix system is well developed, where nouns take case endings and verbs take personal suffixes, it is often the case that a single morpheme embodies two (or more) semantic units that simultaneously characterize the given morpheme, due to the oppositional pattern of the inflectional system. Thus, e.g. Latin and Russian case endings normally involve 'number' along with 'case' because the opposition of singular and plural runs through the whole system: L. *casam* 'house' acc. + sg., *casas* acc. + pl.; R. *стола* 'table' gen. + sg., *столов* gen. + pl. The Hungarian declension system is more analytic than the above (synthetic) patterns: H. *házat* 'house' sg. + acc., *házakat* pl. + acc. That is, in the latter language 'case' and 'number' are expressed by separate morphemes whereas L. *m* and *s*, as well as R. *a* and *ov* are so-called 'portmanteau' morphemes. Nevertheless, we can find such morphemes in Hungarian, too; though only in the conjugation system. In such cases, the suffixes in question are complex suffixes originally consisting of two morphemes which got blurred. Let us give just a few examples:

- nk* (-*m* + -*k*, first person + plural);
- tok* (-*t* + -*k*, second person + plural);
- nak* (-*n* + -*k*, third person + plural).

The system of oppositions entails that the singular case endings (-*k*, -*sz*, -*Ø*; obsolete -*n*, cp. *megyen* 'goes', *teszen* 'does') also involve the meaning 'singular', i.e. contain two semantic units each.

There are a number of further 'multi-purpose' morphemes in the Hungarian conjugation system but we are only concerned here with those of them whose history reveals the coalescence and blurring process comparatively clearly. In fact, the development of the Hungarian conjugation system involves the mixing of various paradigms in quite a few cases. Portmanteau morphemes should not be confused with homonymous morphemes such as the *m* of *adtam* 'I gave' which expresses both definite and indefinite meanings. These two meanings actually exclude each other, i.e. cannot occur simultaneously (in the same sentence).

There are also other, infrequent, types of the coalescence and blurring of affixes (e.g. the derivational suffix -*ék* (-*é* + -*k*) in forms like *szomszédék* 'the neighbouring family'). However, our aim is not the enumeration of all subtypes either here or in the discussion of other types.

1.1.2. Shortening (dropping of morphemes): $a + b \rightarrow a$; $a + b \rightarrow b$

While in point 1.1.1. we considered cases where forms consisting of two or more morphemes remained either unchanged or underwent but minor changes, in which case what really changed was their morphological articulation which

either got simplified or came to an end, this time we shall consider cases where one of the morphemes is completely dropped and the other one assumes the meanings of both original components. While in the cases discussed in the previous chapter motivation normally ceased to exist, here it is mostly retained, at least for a longer period of time though obsolescence, as well as phonetic or semantic changes tend to extinguish motivation and to lead to an isolation of the forms in question.

1.1.2.1. $A + B \rightarrow A$; $A + B \rightarrow B$. Adhesion

Adhesion is an important tool of linguistic economy. It most often occurs in attributive constructions or compounds: the head of the construction or the last part of the compound is dropped and the ex-attribute represents the dropped component as well. Originally, the latter served to define a group of individuals or things whereas the former specified or restricted that group by spelling out a characteristic feature. What makes the omission of the head possible is the fact that it is clear for a certain group of speakers what kind of things the attributive could refer to and therefore the new lexeme is able to express the meaning of the omitted component as well. This phenomenon corresponds to the occasional dropping of nouns in sentences like *A csíkosat válaszd!* 'Choose the striped one' where *csíkos* refers to a *csíkos ruha* 'striped dress'; the only difference is that in the latter case the process goes on on a small scale whereas in the former case it concerns the whole linguistic system (and the whole language community). Examples: *evező lapát* 'shovel for rowing' \rightarrow *evező* 'oar', *törülköző kendő* 'cloth for towelling' \rightarrow *törülköző* 'towel', *messzelátó cső* 'pipe for seeing far' \rightarrow *messzelátó* 'telescope', *tárogató síp* 'fife which is played by opening and closing its holes' \rightarrow *tárogató* 'shawm', *fülbe mászó bogár* 'insect that creeps into people's ears' \rightarrow *fülbemászó* 'earwig', *kecskerágó fű* 'plant champed by goats' \rightarrow *kecskerágó* 'prickwood', *folyó víz* 'flowing water' \rightarrow *folyó* 'river', *temető hely/kert* 'place/garden for burying the dead' \rightarrow *temető* 'cemetery', *fürdő hely* 'place for bathing' \rightarrow *fürdő* 'bathing establishment', *szántó föld* 'land for ploughing' \rightarrow *szántó* 'plough-land', *toborzó tánc* 'dance for recruiting' \rightarrow *toborzó* 'recruiting dance', *pengő forint* 'ringing coin' \rightarrow *pengő* 'old Hungarian currency', *csárdás tánc* 'dance performed in inns' \rightarrow *csárdás* 'a type of Hungarian dance', *farkas állat* 'sterned animal' \rightarrow *farkas* 'wolf', *lábás fazék* 'pot having legs' \rightarrow *lábás* 'pan', *sértés marha* 'bristled animal' \rightarrow *sértés* 'pig', *szarvas állat* 'horned animal' \rightarrow *szarvas* 'deer', *ürmös bor* 'bitter wine' \rightarrow *ürmös* 'vermouth', *tokaji bor* 'wine made in Tokaj' \rightarrow *tokaji* 'Tokay', *badacsonyi bor* 'wine made in Badacsony' \rightarrow *badacsonyi* 'a type of wine', *érettségi vizsga* 'exam of maturity' \rightarrow *érettségi* 'final examination in secondary schools', *kocsi szekér* 'cart made in Kocs' \rightarrow *kocsi* 'coach', *fekete kávé* 'black-coloured coffee' \rightarrow *fekete* 'black coffee'; *agyvelő* 'cerebrum' \rightarrow *agy* 'brain', *börtönház* 'house where wardens work' \rightarrow *börtön* 'prison', *aranyforint* 'golden coin' \rightarrow *arany* 'gold coin', *baka¹bőr* 'a kind of leath-

er' → *baka*² 'a kind of leather', *baka*² *lábbeli* 'footwear made of this kind of leather' → *baka*³ 'infantryman', *bőlénybika madár* 'bird whose warbling resembles the cry of bisons' → *bőlénybika* → *bölömbika* 'bittern', *gulyáshús* 'meal prepared by herdsmen' → *gulyás* 'goulash', *tündérlány* 'ephemeral girl' → *tündér* 'fairy', *üvegpalack* 'bottle made of glass' → *üveg* 'bottle', *szódavíz* 'soda-water' → *szóda* 'seltzer'.

The examples listed include items where the blurring of motivation is caused by obsolence (*kocsi* 'coming of the village of Kocs', *börtön* obs. 'warden, hangman'); items which were isolated because of a phonetic change (*bölömbika*); and items which ceased to be transparent because the thing-meant has undergone a change in shape (*lábás fazék* used to have legs but *lábás* 'pan' has none). There are also items whose transparency is diminishing; such items are getting isolated from related lexical items (*farkas*, *tárogató*, *sértés*, *gulyás*). Some of the examples reveal that their use is more or less bound to situational context or a social layer (*szántó*, *badacsonyi*, *szóda*); there are quite a number of dialect words of this type: *cserepes kályha* → *cserepes* 'tile stove', *füles kosár* → *füles* 'basket with a handle', *heti vásár* → *heti* 'weekly market'. A number of items are ambiguous (coming from various constructions) and are thus more context-bound both situationally and syntactically: *fogaskerekű vasút* → *fogas*¹ 'cog-wheel railway', *fogas hal* → *fogas*² 'pike-perch', and even *fogas deszka/léc* → *fogas*³ 'coat-rack', *gőzös hajó* → *gőzös*¹ 'steamship', *gőzös vonat/vasút* → *gőzös*² 'locomotive'.

Less frequently, it is the meaning of the adjective that adheres to the noun. In this case, the noun undergoes specialization of meaning and social and situational conditions are stricter than in the above examples. E.g.: *eleven állat* 'living creature' or *lelkes állat* 'animate being' → *állat* 'animal', *áros bolt* 'selling shop' or *fűszerszámos bolt* 'grocer's shop' or *kalmárbolt* 'merchant's shop' → *bolt* 'shop', *szállásfoglaló* 'where you can get lodging' → *fogadó* 'inn', *játszó kártya* 'playing cards' → *kártya* 'cards', *lábasmarha* 'living property' → *marha* 'livestock', *tojásrántotta* 'scrambled eggs' → *rántotta* 'omlet', *hasított szíj* 'split strap' or *metszett szíj* 'cut strap' → *szíj* 'strap', *napest* 'sunset' → *est* 'evening', *vízforrás* 'source of water' or *kútforrás* 'well-spring' → *forrás* 'spring', *versköltő* 'writer of poems' → *költő* 'poet', *madártojás* 'bird's egg' or *tyúktojás* 'hen's egg' → *tojás* 'egg'. In most of the examples listed, the original meaning of the resulting word has died out (e.g. *állat* 'thing, entity', *marha* 'riches, goods', *est~eset* 'falling', etc.) or the connection between the original and the derived meanings is blurred (e.g. *költő* 'hatching (bird)' vs. 'poet', *tojás* 'laying (of eggs)' ('shitting' vs. 'egg'). Both processes lead to isolation.

Even less frequently, verbs may also comprise the meaning of their objects or adverbial modifiers. Verbs of such comprised and narrowed meaning normally turn up first in the usage of a social/occupational group and (may) spread throughout the linguistic community. Examples: from the field of agricultural activities: *gyűjt* 'gather (hay)', *vet* 'sow (corn)', *befog* 'harness

(horses, oxen)'; from the field of household activities: *süt* 'bake (bread)', *mos* 'wash (clothes)', *mosogat* 'wash up (dishes)', *kiszellőztet* 'air (the rooms)', etc. Other standard examples include *ad a szavára* 'pay heed (to sy)', *előad* 'deliver (speech)', *fordít* 'translate (a foreign text)', *hány* 'vomit (food)', *kapcsol* 'catch on (what he is told)', *koccint* 'clink (glasses)', *mulat* 'pass (time)', *kihajt* 'come out (in bud)'. Sometimes the verb comprises the meaning of an adverbial modifier: *kidől* 'collapse (with fatigue)', *kivégez* 'put sy (to death)', *rajtakap* 'catch sy (doing sg)'. In the following examples it is the meaning of the subject that adheres to the verb: *dörög* 'it is thundering (i.e. the sky)', *hűvösödik* 'it is getting cool (i.e. the weather)', *esik* 'it is raining (i.e. the rain)', *zuhog* 'it is streaming (i.e. the rain)', *szakad* 'it is pouring (i.e. the rain)', etc.

P. B. Gergely (1977, 71) notes that it sometimes happens "that a two-part nickname loses one of its elements". Examples: *Kis Jancsi* 'Little Johnny' → *Jancsi* 'Johnny', *Böndő Máté* 'Paunchy Mat' → *Böndő* 'Paunchy', etc.

1.1.2.2. Compounds coming about through shortening

- (1) (a) $(A + \text{aff}) + (B + \text{aff}) + C \rightarrow (A + C)$:
túró + t tart + ó zsák 'cloth for covering cheese' → *túrózsák* 'cheese-cloth'
- (b) $(A + B + \text{aff}) + C \rightarrow (A + C)$:
gyümölcs + term + ő fa 'tree bearing fruit' → *gyümölcsfa* 'fruit-tree'
- (2) (a) $(A + \text{aff}) + B \rightarrow (A + B)$:
gaboná + s föld 'field of corn' → *gabonaföld* 'corn field'
- (b) $(A + \text{aff}) + B \rightarrow (A + B)$:
arc + ul csapás 'slap in the face' → *arccsapás* 'facer'
- (3) (a) $(A + \text{aff}) + (B + \text{aff}) \rightarrow (A + B)$:
folyó + nak part + ja 'bank of river' → *folyópart* 'river bank'
- (b) $A + (B + \text{aff}) \rightarrow (A + B)$:
búza piac + a 'market of wheat' → *búzapiac* 'wheat market'

The compounds belonging here go back to more analytical constructions and are formed by omitting content words, derivational suffixes, or inflectional suffixes. The process involves agglutination, although agglutination entails the dropping of morphemes here as opposed to the examples discussed in 2.1.1. that are formed by a simple integration of two words either within or outside the sentence. In the course of the history of Hungarian, analytic and synthetic constructions (of types (1a) and (1b), resp. (3a) and (3b)) often turn up side by side; in fact, there are examples whose analytic versions occur later in written documents than the synthetic ones (including compounds). Of course, the order of emergence in documents does not necessarily reflect the order of development, as is well known; however, analytic forms actually precede synthetic ones in a number of cases. Analytic constructions involving a surplus

content word (types (1a) and (1b)) are semantically the most exact or most detailed ones, coming close to definitions proper, whereas most instances of types (2a), (3a), or (3b) (i.e. those involving *-s* or *-i* derivational suffixes on first members or possessive constructions) only roughly indicate the relation obtaining between content words (due to a less specific or more ambiguous function of the derivational suffixes involved and of the possessive construction). However, it should be made clear that the synthetic constructions are by no means secondary developments — just on the contrary. The simple concatenation of two nouns to refer to some novel entity (without any indication of their relation by means of content words, derivational suffixes or inflections) is more original than a more exact or more general indication of that relation. This is confirmed, among other things, by the compounding processes of Finno-Ugric language (cp. Károly 1973).

The examples presented below all actually occur in documents; I have to add, however, that there are a lot of compounds whose analytic equivalents cannot be documented — which is not to say that they never existed. After all, sentences containing the elements of a compound in a looser construction qualify as antecedents of that compound. Such sentences, not surprisingly, are not always (indeed, quite rarely) recorded.

- (1) (a) *fába való csavar* 'screw for wood' →
 facsavar 'wood-screw'
- (1) (b) *haltartó kas* 'pot for keeping fish' →
 halkas 'fish-pot'
- fegyvertartó ház* 'house for keeping guns' →
 fegyverház 'gun-house'
- salétromfőző ház* 'house for making salpetre' →
 salétromház 'salpetre house'
- bizonyságtévő hely* 'place for bearing witness' →
 bizonysághely 'witness place'
- misemondó ruha* 'vestment for celebrating mass' →
 miseruha 'chasuble'
- káposztametsző gyalu* 'tool for slicing cabbage' →
 káposztagyalu 'cabbage-slicer'
- halvágó kés* 'knife for cutting fish' →
 halkés 'fish-knife'
- vendégfogadó ház* 'house for receiving guests' →
 vendégház 'guest-house'
- borsszítáló szita* 'sieve for sifting pepper' →
 borsszita 'pepper-sieve'
- (2) (a) *gyümölcsös kert* 'garden where fruit is grown' →
 gyümölcskert 'fruit-garden'

- vadas kert* 'preserve for game' →
vadkert 'game-preserve'
árus ház 'house where goods are stored' →
áruház 'storehouse'
kávés ház 'house where coffee is served' →
kávéház 'coffee-house'
síralmas ház 'cell for condemned men' →
síralomház 'condemned cell'
asztalos társ 'companion at table' →
asztaltárs 'table companion'
kútbeli víz 'water of a well' →
kútvíz 'well-water'
páncélbeli vas 'steel of armour' →
páncélvas 'armour steel'
tábori szék 'stool used in camps' →
táborszék 'camp stool'
tavaszi búza 'wheat growing in spring' →
tavaszbúza 'spring wheat'
 (2) (b) *lóról esés* 'fall from a horse' →
lóesés 'horse fall'
lóval kereskedő 'dealer selling horses' →
lókereskedő 'horse-dealer'
 (3) (b) *árpafelde* 'field of barley' →
árpaföld 'barley-field'
síralom háza 'cell of condemned men' →
síralomház 'condemned cell'
tanács háza 'house of council' →
tanácsház 'council-house'
malom köve 'stone of mill' →
malomkő 'millstone'

1.1.2.3. Omission of a content word with suffix shift

- (1) A + B + aff → A + aff:

huszonöt bot + *ot* 'twenty-five strokes (acc.)' →
huszonöt + *öt* 'twenty-five (acc.)'

- (2) A + B + aff + aff + aff → A + aff:

sör iv + *ás* + *á* + *ra* 'for drinking a (glass of) beer' →
sör + *re* 'for a beer'

- (3) A + B + aff + aff → A + aff:

Petőfi könyv + *é* + *t* 'Petőfi's book (acc.)' →
Petőfi + *t* 'Petőfi (acc.)'

The first subgroup includes examples whose peculiarity is that the new, condensed meaning only appears in some inflected form or some set phrase. This use of the words concerned normally appears in dictionaries, too. Examples: *egy darab ideig* 'for a while (of time)' → *egy darabig* 'for a while', *kék virágot (nyílik)* '(blow) blue blossoms' → *kéket (nyílik)* '(blow) blue', *fekete ruhába (öltözik)* '(dress) in black garments' → *feketébe (öltözik)* '(dress) in black', *szoros ábécébe (rak)* '(put) in strict alphabetical order' → *szorosba (rak)* '(put) in strict', *nehéz dolgot (emel)* '(lift) a heavy thing' → *nehezet (emel)* '(lift) something heavy'.

The truncated forms of names of countries used in locative expressions is not a recent development but is becoming fashionable nowadays. In particular, names of countries ending in *-ország* 'land' drop that ending before case suffixes like *-ban* 'in', *-ból* 'from', or *-ba* 'to': *Lengyelben voltam* 'I've been to Poland' (cp. *Lengyelország* 'Poland'), *Spanyolból jöttem* 'I've come from Spain' (cp. *Spanyolország* 'Spain'), *Olaszba megyek* 'I'm going to Italy' (cp. *Olaszország* 'Italy'). The list of such truncated forms is limited both pragmatically (it includes names of European countries frequently visited by Hungarians) and according to the number of syllables (the remaining compound member apparently must be at least bisyllabic); stylistically, such forms carry a familiar/ endearing connotation.

The second subgroup involves more occasional suffix shifts: (*Bementem*) *egy pohár sörre* (= *sör elfogyasztására*) '(I went in) for a beer (i.e. to drink a glass of beer)', (*Hívtam*) *feketére* (= *fekete ivására*) '(I invited him) for a cup of coffee (i.e. to drink a cup of coffee together)', (*Jénába küldték*) *jogra* (= *jog hallgatására*) '(He was sent to Jena) to read law (i.e. to be a student of law)', (*Oda vót a menyecske*) *német szóra* (= *német szó hallására*) '(The young wife was away) to pick up some German (i.e. to learn German among Germans)'. In such expressions, the verb normally refers to some kind of motion, whereas the verbal noun referring to the intended activity is omitted because it would complicate the construction without adding anything to its meaning.

In the third subgroup, proper names originally serving as possessors comprise, in an occasional manner, the meaning of the thing-possessed: (*Olvasom*) *Jókait* (= *Jókai könyvét*) '(I read) Jókai (i.e. his book)', (*Megyek*) *a Pygmalionra* (= *a Pygmalion előadására*) '(I go to see) the Pygmalion (i.e. the performance of 'Pygmalion')', (*Jegyet váltok*) *az Otellóra* (= *az Otelló című darabra*) 'I buy a ticket) for the Othello (i.e. for the play entitled 'Othello')'.

1.1.2.4. Omission of repeated elements in conjunctions

(1) A content word is omitted.

(a) (A + B) és (C + B) → A- és (C + B):

magas + ugrás és távol + ugrás 'high jump and long jump' → *magas- és távolugrás* 'high and long jump'

- (b) $A + \text{adp}^1 \text{ és } A + \text{adp}^2 \rightarrow A + \text{app}^1 \text{ és } \text{app}^2$:
lomb + alatt és lomb + felett 'under the leafy boughs and above the leafy boughs' \rightarrow *lomb alatt és felett* 'under and above the leafy boughs'
- (c) $\text{adp}^1 + A \text{ és } \text{adp}^2 + A \rightarrow \text{adp}^1 \text{ és } \text{adp}^2 + A$:
ki + jár és be + jár 'go out and go in' \rightarrow *ki- és bejár* or *ki-bejár* 'go in and out'
el + szalad és ki + szalad 'run away and run out' \rightarrow *el-kiszalad* 'run out and away'
- (2) An auxiliary element is omitted.
- $A + \text{aux} \text{ és } B + \text{aux} \rightarrow A- \text{ és } B + \text{aux}$ or
 $\text{aux} + A \text{ és } \text{aux} + B \rightarrow \text{aux} + A \text{ és } B$:
- (a) omission of postposition:
test + szerint és lélek + szerint 'in body and in soul' \rightarrow *test és lélek szerint* 'in body and soul'
- (b) omission of article:
a + patak és a + tó 'the brook and the lake' \rightarrow
a patak és tó 'the brook and lake'
- (c) omission of preverb:
meg + szépül és meg + jobbul 'get nicer and get better' \rightarrow *megszépül és jobbul* 'get nicer and better'
(ott) szépül + meg és jobbul + meg 'get nicer and get better there' \rightarrow
(ott) szépül és jobbul meg 'get nicer and better there'
- (d) omission of inflectional suffix:
irigység +ból és kételkedés +ból 'out of envy and out of mistrust' \rightarrow
irigység- és kételkedésből 'out of envy and mistrust'
- (e) omission of inflectional suffix and postposition:
jog + gal + szemben és törvény + nyel + szemben 'against law and against order' \rightarrow *jog- és törvénnyel szemben* 'against law and order'
- (f) omission of superlative marker:
leg + nagyobb és leg + szebb 'the most significant and the most beautiful' \rightarrow *legnagyobb és szebb* 'the most significant and beautiful'

In the above cases, the fact that the auxiliary element occurs only once implies that it covers the whole construction. Uspensky (1965, 103) attaches great importance to this peculiarity from a typological point of view; in fact, he classifies auxiliary elements according to whether they behave like this or not. He points out, among other things, that the French preposition *à* differs from prepositions or postpositions of other languages in that a construction like *à la table et la chaise* 'at the table and the chair' is impossible; both *à*'s have to be there: *à la table et à la chaise* 'at the table and at the chair'. On the other hand, the synthetic character of Hungarian is emphasized in this respect by the fact that even inflectional suffixes can cover more than one element, or at least

there was a period (in the last century) when this phenomenon was quite fashionable. Tompa (1952, 297—306) points out that other kinds of affixes can also be omitted to avoid repetition, though rather exceptionally. Examples *éh- s szomjának* (for *éhenek és szomjának*) 'of his hunger and thirst', *szerencsétlen és boldogtalanok* (for *szerencsétlenek és boldogtalanok*) 'the unlucky and the unhappy', *tizenkilenc-huszdik* (for *tizenkilencedik-huszdik*) 'nineteenth and/or twentieth', (Petőfi szép költeménye . . . is rokona) *Kölcsey- és Vörösmartyénak* (for *Kölcseyének és Vörösmartyénak*) '(Petőfi's nice poem is related) to those of Kölcsey and Vörösmarty', *hat-nyolcszori* (for *hatszori-nyolcszori*) 'repeated six to eight times', *tér- és időbeli* (for *térbeli és időbeli*) 'of space and time', *vég- s határtalan* (for *végtelen és határtalan*) 'endless and boundless', *sógor-komaság* (for *sógorság-komaság*) 'in-laws', *első- és másodrendű* (for *elsőrendű és másodrendű*) 'primary and secondary', *öt-hatszoros* (for *ötszörös-hatszoros*) 'five or sixfold', *ötvenhat-ötvenhetes* (for *ötvenhatos-ötvenhetes*) 'of fifty-six to fifty-seven', *január — februári* (for *januári — februári*) 'of January or February'.

1.2. Analytic direction

1.2.1. Restructuring: $a \rightarrow b + c$

1.2.1.1. $A \rightarrow B + C$. Folk-etymology

The process of folk-etymology is the opposite of blurring: the latter results in isolation whereas the former decomposes an unarticulated word (in particular, a loanword that is seemingly 'senseless') in order to fit it into the linguistic system; it thus makes motivated words out of unmotivated ones and performs the 'bunching' of isolated items by linking them up with previously existing elements of the language. Folk-etymology does not only 'naturalize' foreign words but also 'interprets' blurred ones. Thus, the same (or roughly the same) phonetic shape might undergo a sequence of two opposite processes. Bunching requires in most cases that the phonetic material of the word be slightly adapted. There is no essential difference between folk-etymology proper and what is called 'learned folk-etymology' as popular folk-etymologies can also be conscious and learned (or even linguistic) etymologies are sometimes mere attempts at explanation. For example, the explanation of Horger (1941, 114) concerning the origin of *kén* 'sulphur' (so that *kénkő* 'brimstone' would mean *kín-kő* 'stone of suffering') has been refuted by the compilers of the Historical and Ethymological Dictionary of Hungarian. Folk-etymology is perhaps even more frequent in place names than in common words. Anonymus already presented some 'learned' folk-etymologies of this type (e.g. he explained the place names *Esküllő* and *Szerencs* from *eskü* 'oath' and *szerelmes*, *szerelem* 'loving, love' respectively). More than two dozens of folk-etymologies occurring in geographical names are listed in Kálmán (1967).

Folk-etymologies are only schematically characterized by the structural change $A \rightarrow B + C$. Sometimes, one of the constituents is transparent and

only the other is foreign, blurred, or obsolete. The folk-etymological interpretation only concerns the latter portion of such items. Again, a word which is felt to be unarticulated can be related by folk-etymology to a word which is part of the existing linguistic system but the latter may not cover the whole phonetic shape of the former, i.e. some part of it is left over (indicated by X below). The result is a normal and a nonsensical item joined together which may be seen as the manifestation of playfulness and other emotional contents. (There is a kind of echo words bearing some resemblance to this type of half-nonsense items; namely, echo words one of the components of which does not occur separately such as *giz-gaz* (from *gaz* 'weed'), *irul-pirul* (from *pirul* 'blush'), etc.) Ultimately, the main types of folk-etymology are as follows:

(1) $A \rightarrow B + C$

- tuberosa* 'tuberoses' \rightarrow *tuba* + *rózsa* ('squab rose')
marcipán 'marzipan' \rightarrow *Marci* + *fánk* ('Martin doughnut')
Wurmloch \rightarrow *Barom* + *lak* ('Cattle Lodge')
bicarbona (szóda) \rightarrow *bika* + *bornyú* (szóda)
 'sodium bicarbonat' ('bull-calf' soda)

(2) $A + X \rightarrow A + B$ or $X + A \rightarrow B + A$

- Farkas* + *mál* 'Wolf's fur' \rightarrow *Farkas* + *máj* ('Wolf's liver')
fenn + *héjaz* 'be haughty' \rightarrow *fenn* + *héjáz* ('be up like a hawk')
tan + *felügyelő* 'school-inspector' \rightarrow *kan* + *felügyelő*
 ('boar inspector')
Röntgen + *sugár* 'X-ray' \rightarrow *röggeli* + *sugár* ('morning ray')

(3) $A \rightarrow X + B$

- chirurgus* 'surgeon' \rightarrow *kir* + *orvos* ('X physician')
phylloxera 'vine-pest' \rightarrow *szilok* + *féreg* ('X vermin')

We find peculiar folk-etymologies among proper names. Gergely (1977, 169–170) observed nicknames (during her fieldwork in Kalotaszeg) that were produced by 'interpreting' somebody's surname or first name. She notes that "the expressive quality of this type is based on two factors. First, it relates words that are not otherwise semantically related; secondly, the associated form often conveys a funny, mocking, or even pejorative connotation." Her examples include *Boncz* \rightarrow *Boncoló* 'Dissector', *Böndi* \rightarrow *Böndő* 'Paunch', *Csáki* \rightarrow *Csákány* 'Pickaxe', *Szalkai* \rightarrow *Szarka* 'Magpie', *Pisti* 'Stevie' \rightarrow *Pesti* 'Metropolitan', *Cserkő* \rightarrow *Csergő* 'Jingler', *Ciger* \rightarrow *Cigaretta* 'Cigarette', *Árpád* \rightarrow *Árpa* 'Barley' (folk-etymology reproduced the actual historical development in this last case). These examples differ from the types presented in the paragraph in that they either belong to the $A \rightarrow B +$ aff type of the next section or simply to the $A \rightarrow B$ type, i.e. no restructuring takes place in them.

1.2.1.2. $A \rightarrow B + \text{aff}$. Abstraction

A small group of items belonging here do not involve abstraction since restructuring is based on previously existing elements. In such cases, we simply have to do with instances of folk-etymology with the difference (from those of the preceding section) that the interpretation involves a major element and an affix, rather than two major elements. In the second group, root abstraction takes place; in the third group, suffix abstraction. In these two groups we have to posit a nonsense root (X) or nonsense affix (xaff) in the transitional phase of the development; nonsense affixes count as word endings on their way to becoming derivational suffixes.

(1) $A \rightarrow B + \text{aff}$

ucca \rightarrow *ut* + *ca* 'street', *táca* \rightarrow *tál* + *ca* 'tray',
keresztyén \rightarrow *kereszt* + *ény* 'Christian'

(2) $A \rightarrow (X + \text{aff}) \rightarrow B + \text{aff}$ ($\rightarrow B$). Root abstraction.

csendesz 'silent' $\rightarrow (X + -es) \rightarrow$ *csend* + *es* (\rightarrow *csend* 'silence')
körül 'around' $\rightarrow (X + -ül) \rightarrow$ *kör* + *ül* (\rightarrow *kör* 'circle')
kapál 'hoe' (v) $\rightarrow (X + -l) \rightarrow$ *kapá* + *l* (\rightarrow *kapa* 'hoe' (n))
fütyül 'whistle' (v) $\rightarrow (X + -ül) \rightarrow$ *füty* + *ül* (\rightarrow *füty* 'whistle' (n))
iparkodik 'be industrious' $\rightarrow (X + -kodik) \rightarrow$ *ipar* + *kodik* (\rightarrow *ipar* 'industry')
tanít 'teach' $\rightarrow (X + -ít) \rightarrow$ *tan* + *ít* (\rightarrow *tan* 'tenet')
izmos 'muscular' $\rightarrow (X + -os) \rightarrow$ *izm* + *os* (\rightarrow *izom* 'muscle')
csárdák 'inn' $\rightarrow (X + -k) \rightarrow$ *csárdá* + *k* (\rightarrow *csárda* 'inn')

Sometimes, it is the definite article *a* that is 'felt into' *a*-initial foreign words or names and this is how new root forms are abstracted:

$A \rightarrow \text{aux} + B$; $X + A \rightarrow \text{aux} + B + A$

apotheca \rightarrow *a patika* 'the pharmacy'; in proper nouns:

Alexander \rightarrow *a Lexander*, *Amadéfalva* \rightarrow *a Madéfalva*,

Avasalja \rightarrow *a Vasalja*, *Aszupatak* \rightarrow *a Szupatak*

(3) Suffix abstraction (adaptation).

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} A \rightarrow X^1 + \text{xaff} \\ B \rightarrow X^2 + \text{xaff} \\ \dots \rightarrow \dots + \text{xaff} \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow K + \text{aff}; L + \text{aff}; \dots + \text{aff} (\rightarrow \text{aff})$$

$$\left. \begin{array}{ll} \text{csárda 'inn'} & \rightarrow X^1 + da \\ \text{kaloda 'pillory'} & \rightarrow X^2 + da \\ \dots & \rightarrow X^n + da \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow$$

\rightarrow *nyom* + *da* 'printing house', *bölcső* + *de* 'crèche', $\dots + da$, *de* (\rightarrow *-da*, *-de*)

Further derivational suffixes of this origin include the following (some of them are of very restricted distribution; they were fashionable with nineteenth-century neologists):

agyag 'clay', *hézag* 'gap', *nyereg* 'saddle' →
adag 'portion', *szöveg* 'text', *üteg* 'battery'; (-*ag*, -*eg*)
agyar 'tusk', *meder* 'river bed' →
jogar 'sceptre', *lovar* 'horseman'; (-*ar*, -*er*)
demokrácia 'democracy', *arisztokrácia* 'aristocracy' →
bankokrácia 'sway of high finance'; (-*krácia*)
humanizmus 'humanism', *realizmus* 'realism' →
alföldizmus 'Plain-ism', *petőfizmus* 'Petőfi-ism'; (-*izmus*)
humanista 'humanist', *realista* 'realist' →
forgalmista 'traffic manager', *egyetemista* 'university student'; (-*ista*)
purgatórium 'purgatory', *refektórium* 'refectory' →
pipatórium 'pipe-rack', *pirongatórium* 'admonishment'; (-*tórium*) etc.

As can be seen, several initial data are to be considered in cases of adaptation since this is a prerequisite of the ending's becoming a functional unit.

Both root abstraction and adaptation (suffix abstraction) can be exemplified with nicknames taken from Gergely (1977, 174, 194): *Bancsuka* → *Csuka*, *Piskóta* → *Piskó*; *Dundi* → *Dundula*, *Jankó* → *Jankula*, *Vince* → *Vinciri*.

Let us finally note here that Pais (1956, 401–6) already considered what we call 'analytic restructuring' a unified area of phenomena as he took folk-etymology to be indirectly related to root abstraction and adaptation (suffix abstraction).

1.2.2. $a \rightarrow a + b$; $a \rightarrow b + a$. Completion

Completion is the opposite of shortening; the morphemes already there are complemented by one or several further morphemes without any concomitant semantic change.

1.2.2.1. $A \rightarrow A + B$. Tautological compounds

1) This is the class of compounds whose last component constitutes the superordinate term of the entity referred to by the first component (this is why Bebesi (1931, 43) calls this type 'conceptual class compounds'). The last constituent is thus but an additional one since reference to the entity involved could also be fulfilled by the first constituent in itself. One of the reasons why such compounds come about might be that the subordinate term is a foreign word (e.g. obsolete *krokodilusgyík* 'crocodile (reptile)'), or a metaphorical expression (e.g. *kecskeszakállfű* 'goat's beard herb', i.e. 'Joseph's flower'). In such cases, the meaning of the subordinate concept is made somewhat more trans-

parent by the help of the superordinate term. Another possible reason is an effort to formulate a more circumstantial or stylistically more suggestive expression. This latter reason also plays a role in the category discussed below. Also, in certain vocabulary areas it can be more fashionable than in others. Thus, interestingly enough, compounds ending in *madár* 'bird' are frequent both in Hungarian and in Syryenian though they are more wide-spread in Syryenian (cp. Broicher—Schmidt 1975, 108). Examples: *gólya* → *gólya* + *madár* 'stork (bird)', *fecske* → *fecske* + *madár* 'swallow (bird)', *sas* → *sas* + *madár* 'eagle (bird)', *liliom* → *liliom* + *virág* 'lily (flower)', *gyopár* → *gyopár* + *fű* 'cudweed', *galagonya* → *galagonya* + *bokor* 'thornbush', *hús* → *hús* + *étel* 'meat (meal)', *bor* → *bor* + *ital* 'wine (drink)', *puli* → *puli* + *kutya* 'puli (dog)', *moly* → *moly* + *féreg* 'moth (worm)', *fenyő* → *fenyő* + *fa* 'pine (tree)', *jegenye* → *jegenye* + *fa* 'poplar (tree)'.

Of course, we have no space here for a detailed stylistic analysis. Let us note, however, that e.g. *madár* 'bird' and *virág* 'flower' are very loaded in texts about love, therefore it is not the same, emotionally speaking, whether *gólya* 'stork' or *gólyamadar* 'stork-bird', *liliom* 'lily' or *liliomvirág* 'lily-flower' is mentioned.

2) Similar stylistic functions are fulfilled by conjunctions of synonymous items, more frequently occurring in older texts than in present-day usage: *erő* + *hatalom* 'power', *kő* + *szikla* 'rock', *rab* + *szolga* 'slave', *szó* + *beszéd* 'rumour', *kietlen* + *puszta* 'bleak', *bú* + *bánat* 'sorrow', *per* + *patvar* 'bickering'. The first member is sometimes a foreign word: *zomak* + *kígyó* 'snake'. Compounds of semantically non-identical, though related, items (e.g. *szél* + *vész* 'wind + disaster = tempest', *kín* + *halál* 'torture + death = death by torture', *ken* + *fen* 'smear + whet = make up (cheeks)') are not taken to belong here since in the latter type different semantic elements are combined.

It is a frequently occurring type of the change of nicknames when the new name comes about by a completion of the old one (cp. Gergely 1977, 70): *Macska* 'Cat' → *Macska-Duni*, *Marci* → *Marci fiú* 'Martin boy', *Köpec* → *Kis Köpec* 'Little K.', *Hirtyi* → *Kis Hirtyi* 'Little H.', *Pali* → *Nagy Pali* 'Big Paul'.

1.2.2.2. Semantic equivalence with surplus derivational suffixes

Not infrequently, words are doubly suffixed (extended) whereby they first get over to another part of speech and then get back to their original class. At the end of this 'circulation', the resulting meaning is not substantially different from the original meaning, though its transparency increases and its stylistic or even syntactic role may also be altered.

(1) A → A + deriv. suffix + infl. + O

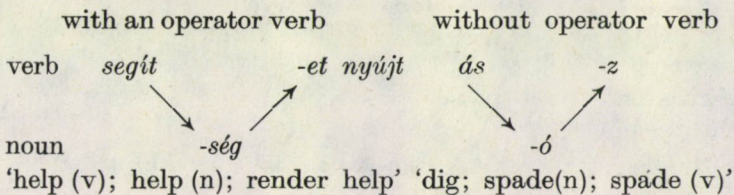
where O is a kind of 'operator verb', i.e. a kind of auxiliary element
segít 'help' → *segít* + *ség* + *et* + *nyújt* 'render help (to sy)'

feljelent 'inform (against sy)' → *feljelent* + *és* + *t* + *tesz* 'lodge information (against sy)'
számít 'calculate' → *számít* + *ás* + *t* + *végez* 'make calculations'
felvilágosít 'inform' → *felvilágosít* + *ás* + *t* + *ad* 'furnish information'
kioktat 'instruct' → *kioktat* + *ás* + *ban* + *részesít* 'provide instruction'
kérd 'ask' → *kérd* + *és* + *t* + *intéz* 'ask (sy) a question'

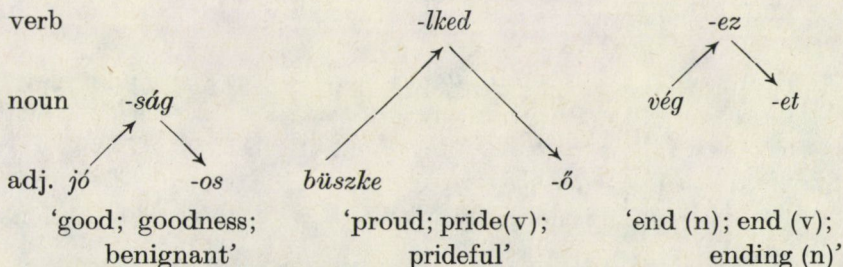
The syntactic (as well as cognitive) function of the more analytic versions is that they can take attributive complements that the original verb cannot. E.g. *Alapos és remélhetőleg pozitív hatású kioktatásban részesítette* 'He provided her with a thorough instruction of hopefully positive effect'. This is a sort of conceptualization of a semantic complex which can only be expressed in an occasional manner with the verb *kioktat* 'instruct', e.g. *Alaposan kioktatta, s ez remélhetőleg pozitív hatású lesz* 'He instructed her thoroughly which will hopefully have a positive effect'. The analytic form *kioktatásban részesít* leads to a more synthetic formulation of the whole sentence, whereas the synthetic form *kioktat* requires a more analytic sentence pattern. This controversial functional shift implied by the use of surplus derivational suffixes sheds light on an interesting section of linguistic development; in fact, it involves a tendency which is operative in other areas as well.

(2) $A \rightarrow A + \text{deriv. suff.}^1 + \text{deriv. suff.}^2$

It is a characteristic feature of Hungarian that its system of derivational suffixes is well-developed in every possible direction so that the above-described 'circulation' can take place without operator verbs, too:



In fact, many more types of circulation are possible with derivational suffixes:



Further examples:

szép + *ség* + *es* 'beautiful; beauty; ravishing'
elég + *ség* + *es* 'enough; sufficiency; sufficient'
remény + *ked* + *és* 'hope (n); hope (v); the state of being hopeful'
panasz + *kod* + *ás* 'complaint; complain; the act of complaining'
kifogás + *ol* + *ás* 'objection; object (v); the act of objecting'
mosoly + (o)*g* + *ás* 'smile(n); smile (v); the act of smiling'
düh + *őng* + *és* 'anger; be angry; the state of being angry'
fény + *es* + *ség* 'light; bright; brightness'

(3) $A \rightarrow A + \text{deriv. suff.}$

Less frequently, an unsuffixed and a suffixed word may be equivalent without such a circulation:

(a) In old texts the causative suffix sometimes plays but a formal role:

abrakoz 'feed (a horse)' = *abrakoz* + *tat*
aggaszt 'make worry' = *aggaszt* + *al*
akadályoz 'hold up' = *akadályoz* + *tat*
hány 'throw' = *hány* + *tat*

(b) Adjectives nominalized by a definite article may be equivalent with adjectives nominalized by the derivational suffix *-ság/-ség*: *a messze* = *messzeség* 'remoteness', *a közel* = *közelség* 'closeness', *a sötét* = *sötétség* 'darkness'.

As with other types of synonyms, conceptual equivalence goes hand in hand with stylistic difference in such cases, as well.

1.2.2.3. Semantic equivalence with surplus inflectional suffixes

(1) $A + B \rightarrow A + \text{infl.} + B + \text{poss. suffix}$

folyó + *part* 'river bank' \rightarrow *folyó* + *part* + *ja* 'bank of river' \rightarrow
 folyó + *nak* + *part* + *ja* 'bank of river'

In the possessive construction, which is more analytic, the possession word can receive an adjective of its own.

(2) $A + \text{adp} \rightarrow A + \text{infl.} + \text{adp} + \text{poss. suffix}$

ház + *mellett* 'next to (the) house' \rightarrow *ház* + *nak* + *mellett* + *e* 'next to (the) house'

(3) $A \rightarrow A + \text{infl.}$

most 'now' \rightarrow *most* + *an*, *itt* 'here' \rightarrow *itt* + *en*, *legott* 'immediately' \rightarrow
 legott + *an*, *hirtelen* 'suddenly' \rightarrow *hirtelen* + *ül*, *mezítelen* 'with no
 clothes on' \rightarrow *mezítelen* + *ül*, *addig* 'until then' \rightarrow *addig* + *lan*, *addig*
 'by that time' \rightarrow *addig* + *ra*

In this group, A is normally an adverb, with a blurred inflection of its own.

- (4) $A + \text{infl.}^1 \rightarrow A + \text{infl.}^1 + \text{infl.}^2$
éjfel + ig 'by midnight' \rightarrow *éjfel + ig + len*
- (5) $A + \text{infl.}^1 \rightarrow A + \text{infl.}^1 + \text{infl.}^1$
az + t 'that (acc.)' \rightarrow *az + t + at*, *ő + t* 'him' \rightarrow *ő + t + et*,
bírá + k 'judges (n. pl.)' \rightarrow *bírá + k + ok*

1.2.2.4. More complicated cases of semantic equivalence (the surplus element is an inflectional suffix, a postposition, an article, or a pronoun).

Examples:

az(on) + ház \rightarrow *az + a + ház* 'that house'; *az(on) + ház + at* \rightarrow *az + t + a + ház + at* 'that house (acc.)'; *az(on) + ház + mellett* \rightarrow *a + mellett + a + ház + mellett* 'near that house'; *ház + am* \rightarrow *én + ház + am* \rightarrow *az + én + ház + am* 'my house'; *én + ház + am* \rightarrow *én + nekem + ház + am* 'my house'; *Péter + nek + ház + a* \rightarrow *Péter + nek + ő + ház + a* \rightarrow *Péter + nek + az + ő + ház + a* \sim *Péter + nek + a + ház + a* 'Péter's house'. The list of types is incomplete.

After having surveyed the synthetic and analytic types of changes, let us now summarize our main findings.

1) As we saw, the synthetic tendency, i.e. the cessation of transparency (motivation) and the isolation of items is general and significant, whereas the analytic tendency, i.e. the rise (or increase) of transparency (motivation) and the bunching of items is occasional and sporadic (bound up with specific periods or fashions).

2) This difference is consonant with the universal phenomenon observable in all languages that, historically speaking, words are mostly non-arbitrary in that they come about motivated (transparent) but, functionally, they tend to get rid of motivation, get structurally simplified, and their dependence on the linguistic system as a whole (as well as their surplus stylistic value) decreases as time goes on. At the same time, new motivated words keep coming into existence, though most of them are formed in ways other than the increase of linear articulation (thus, by way of various modes of word formation, and especially with no changes in their formal make-up, i.e. by way of a semantic change).

3) The analytic direction of the change of morphological articulation, the rise of motivation, normally entails a surplus stylistic value; think of folk-etymology, tautological compounding and analytic types of semantic equivalence. On the other hand, we should not forget that motivation is but one of the components of style, therefore it does not determine the stylistic value of a word in a categorical manner.

4) The synthetic direction of development, being a simplifying tendency, is motivated by linguistic economy, whereas the analytic direction, being a diversifying tendency, maintains linguistic proliferation and redundancy.

5) The role of synthetic and analytic tendencies in language as a whole is not totally defined by changes on the linear level. Another set of changes to be reckoned with in this respect are those appearing on the paradigmatic level.

6) All main types of synthetic and analytic changes, such as blurring (the blurring of compounds and contraction), shortening, the rise of new elements (folk-etymology, root abstraction, and abstraction of suffix-like endings), as well as completion, can be found with proper nouns as well. In other words, proper nouns can be considered as an integral part of the total vocabulary also with respect to the changes under discussion.

1.3. Neutral direction: $a + b \rightarrow c + d$

Sometimes, restructuring does not involve a change of the number of morphemes. In such cases, we have to do with a simple rearrangement. The most typical kind of change belonging here is the shift of word boundary. Examples of boundary shift between pairs of major elements include *jób + anya* 'better' + 'mother' i.e. 'grandmother' \rightarrow *jó + banya* (\rightarrow *banya* 'gammer'), *jób + apa* \rightarrow *jó + bapa* \sim *bopa* (\rightarrow *bopa* 'gaffer'); examples of occasional boundary shifts between an auxiliary and a major element include *a zacskó* 'the paper-bag' \rightarrow *az acskó* (\rightarrow *acskó*), *a zongora* 'the piano' \rightarrow *az ongora* (\rightarrow *ongora*). A typical case of word (morpheme) boundary shift (if sporadic instances like these can be called 'typical' at all) is the adjoining of the *z* of the definite article to the following noun as in *az ember* 'the man' \rightarrow *a zember*. On the other hand, there are further examples of neutral restructuring which, however, are agglutinational or isolational changes at the same time. Such changes will be mentioned in section 2. below.

2. Qualitative changes of morphological articulation

2.1. Agglutinational direction: $a + b \rightarrow (a + b)$

where the parentheses indicate that the morphemes in question are united in a single word

Agglutination is a change of synthetic character but one that does not alter the quantity of morphemes.

2.1.1. $A + B \rightarrow (A + B)$. Compounding

The process of compounding was already discussed in section 1.1.2.2. above. This time, we shall be concerned with compounds that come about by a

'sticking together' of consecutive elements (of a sentence) without changes in their original form other than those of suprasegmental (especially stress) features and whose sole syntactic difference from the original construction is that their members can no longer govern complements of their own.

A few general remarks are in order here concerning compounds brought about by agglutination. 1) The term 'agglutination' is used here in a wider sense than usual, one that is defined by Saussure (1916, 248) as follows: "L'agglutination consiste en ce que deux ou plusieurs termes originalement distincts, mais qui se rencontraient fréquemment en syntagme au sein de la phrase, se soudent en une unité absolue ou difficilement analysable." Thus, compounds of this kind also belong here, in addition to inflections brought about by agglutination. 2) Saussure (1916, 251) makes a sharp distinction between agglutinational and analogical processes in principle, but he admits that "Il est souvent difficile de dire si une forme analysable est née par agglutination ou si elle a surgi comme construction analogique". H. Paul (1920, 346) emphasized the role of analogy even more definitely; his view is faithfully reflected in Balassa—Simonyi (1895, 355): "As soon as a language starts to employ a number of words consisting of two separate words, and to refer to new concepts by such concatenations of pairs of words, the language will form more and more new compounds patterned after them. In this case, analogy is at work." Whether a particular compound came about by a slow process (from occasional cooccurrences in actual sentences) or suddenly (on the basis of existing patterns) is impossible to detect in retrospect in most cases. In view of this fact, we shall consider all compounds whose way of construction does not exclude the possibility of their sentential origin, i.e. compounds that are formally indistinguishable from results of natural agglutination, as belonging to the latter group. In fact, even 'marked' compounds (e.g. *bábatire* 'midwife's ointment', *ládafia* 'drawer of chest', *istennyila* 'thunderbolt' [i.e. "God's arrow"]; *napbarnította* 'sun-tanned', *véráztatta* 'blood-sodden'; *kezeaszott* 'wizen-handed'; *hasafájó* 'colicky') might be analogical developments. 3) In connection with agglutination, Saussure referred to the concept of "unité absolue ou difficilement analysable" (1916, 248). However, this primarily applies to blurred or blurring compounds discussed in section 1.1.1.1. above. Blurring often takes place in compounds of auxiliary elements, too; Saussure's examples are also of this type (*au jour d'hui* → *aujourd'hui* 'today', *dés já* → *déjà* 'already', 1916, 248). However, most compounds are clearly segmentable, associations and conceptual shifts are detectable in them (contrary to the traditional view that compounding does not involve 'conceptual shifts'). This is the expected situation, since normal compounds are transparent which provides them with a stylistic value that is lost in blurred compounds. Unified notions can perfectly be referred to by clearly segmentable compounds, too. Semantically, what makes compounds different from looser constructions is a plus semantic unit:

sötétkamra 'dark-room' is a room which is characteristically dark but may occasionally be lit up (unlike *sötét kamra* 'dark room' which may not). Similarly, *szürkehályog* 'cataract' is not simply a *szürke hályog* 'grey nebula' but a specific eye disease of whose conceptual features 'being grey' is but one. Thus, members of a compound do not normally lose their meanings, neither are their meanings combined by some mystical amalgamation; rather, something is added to the individual meanings of the constituents and it is actually their transparency that reflects the cognitive process (and emotional activity) leading up to the rise of the compound. What superficially appears to be a simple 'gluing together' of elements is in fact, semantically, a process whereby a new unit of meaning (or several such units) join(s) the original ones. Thus, agglutination is not a mechanical addition; frequent occurrence in sentences is, therefore, just an opportunity for compounding to take place. This reasoning emphasized the role of analogy but it also implies that patterns are only patterns: they do not prescribe which elements should come together or what kind of condensation should be performed. A minimal prerequisite of the emergence of a compound is that it should refer to a functional class, or type, of entities; this requirement is a social one. Thus, it is clear why *fafűtés* 'wood-heating' and *szénfűtés* 'coal-heating' do exist and why *késvágás* 'knife-cutting' or *ollóvágás* 'scissor-cutting' do not. The former are needed, the latter are not. Semantic condensation is also present in compounds that are parallel to possessive constructions: *asztalláb* 'table-leg' and *székláb* 'chair-leg', or *kaszanyél* 'scythe-handle' (= 'snead') and *seprűnyél* 'broom-handle' do not only differ from each other in what kinds of things they are legs (respectively, handles) of but also in other features. The relation between form and meaning differs in various types of compounds; unfortunately, we have no room here to go into minute shades or details.

1) Compounding by linking members of syntagms.

This group includes compounds whose constituent morphemes are identical with those of the corresponding loosely-constructed syntagms. Thus: subjective (*mennydörög* 'it is thundering' ← *menny* + *dörög* 'heaven' + 'roaring', *agyafűrt* 'cunning' ← *agya* + *fűrt* 'brain' + 'drilled', *vérehulló* (fecskefű) 'milkweed' ← *vére* + *hulló* 'blood-his' + 'shedding', *madárlátta* '(bread) brought home (e.g. from an excursion)' ← *madár* + *látta* 'bird' + 'seen', *kezereszketve* 'with shaking hand' ← *keze* + *reszketve* 'hand-his' + 'shaking'), attributive (*kisujj* 'little finger' ← *kis* + *ujj* 'little' + 'finger', *kisasszony* 'miss' ← *kis* + *asszony* 'little' + 'woman', *kiskirály* 'petty monarch' ← *kis* + *király* 'little' + 'king', *kisbíró* 'village drummer', ← *kis* + *bíró* 'little' + 'magistrate', *sokszög* 'polygon' ← *sok* + *szög* 'many' + 'angle'), marked possessive (*ládafia* 'drawer (of chest)' ← *láda* + *fia* 'chest' + 'son', *országháza* 'parliament' ← *ország* + *háza* 'country' + 'house', *városháza* 'town-hall' ← *város* + *háza* 'town' + 'house', *tanácsháza* 'council-house' ← *tanács* + *háza* 'advice' + 'house'),

marked objective (*egyetért* 'agree' ← *egyet* + *ért* 'one' + 'understand'), and marked adverbial (*nyakravaló* 'neck-tie' ← *nyakra* + *való* 'neck-on' + 'being', *tejbekása* 'milk-rice' ← *tejbe* + *kása* 'milk-in' + 'mush', *aluljáró* 'subway' ← *alul* + *járó* 'under' + 'going', *fűvönosztás* ← *fűvön* + *osztás* 'grass-on' + 'dealing out', *végigállás* 'waiting out (e.g. a queue)' ← *végig* + *állás* 'end-to' + 'standing', *cserbenhagy* 'leave s.y. in the lurch' ← *cserben* + *hagy* 'tan-in' 'leave'), compounds as well as conjunctive ones (*ág-bog* 'nooks and corners', *hegyes-völgyes* 'undulating', *tíz-húsz* 'ten or twenty', *alig-alig* 'hardly ever', *éjjel-nappal* 'night and day', *súg-búg* 'whisper').

2) Compounding by linking major elements and adpositives.

In this sub-group, productivity is less well-developed as a rule. Still, every single adpositive is able, in principle, to adhere to the content word it is linked with. Thus, one of the compound members can be:

— a prepositive:

- a* 'the': *túl a Dunán* 'beyond the river Danube' → *túladunai* 'Transdanubian'
egy (a) mást 'each (the) other' → *egymást* 'each other';
nem 'not': *embernemjárta* 'untrod-den (by people)', *nem-magunk* 'not-ourselves', *nem-magyar* 'non-Hungarian', *nem-találkozás* 'non-meeting', *nem-csodák* 'non-wonders', *nem-alvó* 'non-sleeping', *nem-szőke* 'non-fair-haired' (most examples are taken from Bebesi (1931, 41), from texts by Sándor Petőfi and Endre Ady);
csak 'only': *csak-költő* 'only-poet' (Ady);

— a postpositive:

- postposition: *délután* '(in the) afternoon', *dél előtt* '(in the) morning', *rendkívül* 'extraordinarily', *kétségtelenül* 'indubitably';
is 'also': *legalábbis* 'at least', *úgyis* 'anyway', *amúgyis* 'all the same';
se 'nor': *úgyse* 'not anyway', *sehogy se* 'in no way', *mi se* 'not even us';

— an inpositive:

- s, és* 'and': *idestova* 'almost', *alá s föl* 'up and down', *egy s más* 'a thing or two', *legeslegszebb* 'the most beautiful of all', *telisde-teli* 'full as can be', *száz és száz* 'hundreds and hundreds', *ezer és ezer* 'thousands and thousands', *fenn és lenn* 'up (there) and down (there)', *égen és földön* 'in heaven and earth', etc.

The last, conjunctive, type is abundantly exemplified by H. Paul (1920, 189); he adduces as evidence of their being compounds that adjectives only agree in gender and case with first members (*durch meinen Rat und Tat*).

In this group we also find blurred or blurring compounds, i.e. ones that could have been mentioned in section 1.1.1.1.

2.1.2. $A + \text{aux} \rightarrow (A + \text{aff})$. Inflections from postpositions

We have numerous well-known examples of Hungarian case endings going back to postpositions (*kert + belől* \rightarrow *kert + ből* 'from (the) garden', *út + reá* \rightarrow *út + ra* 'to (the) road', etc.). Adverbs like *belőlem* 'out of me', *redm* 'onto me' preserved the postpositional version of would-be case endings.

2.1.3. $(A + B) \rightarrow (A + \text{aff})$. Affixes from compounded major elements

It is also widely known that some affixes developed from independent words (or rather from major elements of compounds). This is how many derivational suffixes took shape (*nemzet + ség* \rightarrow *nemzetség* 'clan', *uru + ság* \rightarrow *uraság* 'squire', *négysz + szer* \rightarrow *négyszer* 'four times', *jár + hat* \rightarrow *járhat* 'can go'). Again, this is how J. Balázs (1956) explains the origin of the superlative prefix *leg-* (*leg + nagyobb* \rightarrow *legnagyobb* 'biggest', where *leg* is an adverb). Several single-segment case endings (*-n*, *-t*) and personal suffixes (*-m*, *-d*, etc.) are usually traced back to pronouns. The development of certain major elements of compounds into some kinds of prefixes is going on before our very eyes: *al-* 'sub', *fel-* 'over', *köz-* 'public', *bel-* 'internal', *mű-* 'artificial', *magán-* 'private', from compounds like *albérlés* 'subtenancy', *alorvos* 'junior doctor', *felvég* 'upper end (of village)', *felhang* 'overtone', *közhivatal* 'public office', *közmunka* 'public project', *belorvos* 'specialist for internal diseases', *belföld* 'inland, home country', *belügy* 'internal affair', *műjég* 'artificial ice', *műhold* 'satellite', *magánember* 'private individual', *magántulajdon* 'private property', etc. This development is supported by the fact that the items in question are getting isolated, as they are either not used independently or in quite another meaning (e.g. *mű* 'work (of art)', etc.).

2.1.4. $A + B \rightarrow A + \text{app}$; $A + B \rightarrow \text{app} + B$. Adpositives from major elements

Strictly speaking, adpositives are not agglutinated elements. Still, they are on their way to becoming such elements in that they invariably join a major element. Let us mention a few kinds of changes of this type:

(1) Pronoun \rightarrow interrogative particle:

Fiú e(z)? 'Is this a boy?' \rightarrow *Fiú-e?* 'A boy?'; *Lesz e(z)?* 'Will there be such a thing?' \rightarrow *Lesz-e?* 'Will there be?'

(The author's etymologies.)

- (2) Pronoun → definite article:

az ló 'that horse' → *a(z) ló* 'the horse'

- (3) Adverb → verbal prefix (preverb):

(*valamihez*) *közel megy* 'go near (something)' → *közelmegy (valamihez)* 'approach (something)', (*valamin*) *túl emelkedik* 'rise above (something)' → *túlemelkedik (valamin)* 'exceed (something)', (*valami*) *körül ülnek* 'sit around (something)' → *körülülnek (valamit)* 'surround (something) in a sitting posture'. As the above examples suggest, a transitional stage of this development is the postpositional use of the adverbs concerned.

2.2. Isolational direction: (a + b) → a + b

This type of change is a rather exceptional phenomenon. Its subtypes are as follows:

- (1) Compound member → independent word:

($A^1 + B$) → ($A^2 + B$) (→ A^2)

($tár^1 + ház$) 'repository' → ($tár^2 + ház$) 'store-house' (→ $tár^2$ 'store'),

($zűr^1 + zavar$) 'chaos' → ($zűr^2 + zavar$) 'confusion and disorder'

(→ $zűr^2$ 'mess'), ($zene^1 + bona$) 'hullabaloo' → ($zene^2 + bona$) 'ragged music'

(→ $zene^2$ 'music'), (*Ista* + $Pista^1$) 'Stevie' → (*Ista* + $Pista^2$) 'Stevie'

(→ $Pista^2$ 'Steve').

- (2) Affix → independent word: ($A + \text{aff}$) → ($A + B$) (→ B)

(*kis* + ded^1) 'small' + diminutive suffix → (*kis* + ded^2) 'small baby'

(→ ded^2 'baby'), (*human* + $izmus^1$) 'humanism' → (*human* + $izmus^2$)

(→ $izmus^2$ 'ism') [e.g. a term of art history].

- (3) Affix → auxiliary: ($A + \text{aff}$) + B → $A + \text{aux} + B$

(*kert* + *es*) + *ház* 'house with a garden' → *kert* + *és* + *ház* 'garden and house'. The last example is but a tentative one since this etymology of *és* 'and' is rather improbable.

III. A survey of the types of changes of morphological articulation

1. Quantitative changes of morphological articulation

1.1. Synthetic direction

1.1.1. Restructuring: $a + b \rightarrow c$ Blurring

1.1.1.1. Blurring of compounds

1. Compounds of content words:

jó ember 'good man' → *jámbor* 'pious'

2. Compounds one or both members of which are pronouns: *vala ki* 'here was (somebody) who' → *valaki* 'somebody'

- 1.1.1.2. Auxiliaries from major elements:
tudni illik 'it is proper to know' → *tudniillik* 'namely'
- 1.1.1.3. Compounds of auxiliaries:
mint ha 'like if' → *mintha* 'as if'
- 1.1.1.4. Blurring of derived or inflected words:
aj + *ak* → *ajak* 'lip'
- 1.1.1.5. The rise of postpositions and other auxiliary elements: *al* + *att* 'at the lower part of' → *alatt* 'under'
- 1.1.1.6. The blurring of complex suffixes:
bök + *öd* + *ös* → *bök* + *dös* 'keep poking at';
kap + *dos* 'keep grabbing at'
- 1.1.2. Shortening (dropping of morphemes): *a* + *b* → *a*; *a* + *b* → *b*
- 1.1.2.1. Adhesion:
folyó víz 'flowing water' → *folyó* 'river'
- 1.1.2.2. Compounds through shortening:
gyümölcs termő fa 'tree bearing fruit' → *gyümölcsfa* 'fruit-tree'
- 1.1.2.3. Omission of a content word with suffix shift:
huszonöt botot 'twenty-five strokes (acc.)' → *huszonötöt* 'twenty-five (acc.)'
- 1.1.2.4. Omission of repeated elements:
 1. A content word is omitted: *magasugrás és távolugrás* → *magas- és távolugrás* 'high and long jump'
 2. An auxiliary element is omitted: *test szerint és lélek szerint* → *test és lélek szerint* 'in body and soul'
- 1.2. Analytic direction
- 1.2.1. Restructuring: *a* → *b* + *c* Rise of new elements
- 1.2.1.1. Folk-etymology: *tuberosa* → *tubarózsa* 'tuberoze'
- 1.2.1.2. Abstraction: *ucca* → *út* + *ca* 'street'
 1. Root abstraction: *csendesz* → *csend* + *es* 'silent'
 2. Suffix abstraction (adaptation): *agyag* 'clay', *hézag* 'gap' → *ad-ag* 'portion' (-ag, -eg)
- 1.2.2. Completion: *a* → *a* + *b*; *a* → *b* + *a*
- 1.2.2.1. Tautological compounds:
gólya → *gólya* + *madár* 'stork (bird)'; *szó* + *beszéd* 'word' + 'talk' (→ 'rumour')
- 1.2.2.2. Equivalence with surplus derivational suffixes:
segít 'help' → *segít* + *ség* + *et* + *nyújt* 'render help'
- 1.2.2.3. Equivalence with surplus inflectional suffixes:
folyópart 'river bank' → *folyó partja* → *folyónak partja* 'bank of river'
- 1.2.2.4. More complicated cases of equivalence:
házam 'my house' → *én házam* 'house of mine'

1.3. Neutral direction (restructuring): $a + b \rightarrow c + d$ *jób anya* \rightarrow *jó banya*
'good gammer'

2. Qualitative changes of morphological articulation

2.1. Agglutinational direction: $a + b \rightarrow (a + b)$

2.1.1. Compounding: $A + B \rightarrow (A + B)$

1. By linking members of syntagms:

kis 'small' + *bíró* 'village mayor' \rightarrow *kisbíró* 'village drummer'

2. By linking major elements and adpositives:

nem szőke 'not fair-haired' \rightarrow *nem-szőke* 'non-fair-haired'; *csak költő*
'only poet' \rightarrow *csak-költő* 'only-poet'

2.1.2. Inflections from postpositions: $A + \text{aux} \rightarrow (A + \text{aff})$

kert 'garden' + *belől* 'from inside' \rightarrow *kert + ből* 'from (the) garden'

2.1.3. Affixes from compounded major elements: $(A + B) \rightarrow (A + \text{aff})$

nemzet + *ség* \rightarrow *nemzetség* 'clan'

2.1.4. Adpositives from major elements: $A + B \rightarrow (A + \text{adp})$; $A + B \rightarrow (\text{adp} + B)$

közel megy \rightarrow *közelmegy* 'go near'; *az ló* 'that horse' \rightarrow *a(z) ló* 'the horse'

2.2. Isolational direction: $(a + b) \rightarrow a + b$

(*kis* + *ded*¹) 'small + diminutive suffix' \rightarrow

(*kis* + *ded*²) 'small baby' (\rightarrow *ded*² 'baby')

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THE VEND GYPSY DIALECT IN HUNGARY

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This dialect is spoken by a few hundred persons in Western Hungary. The speakers of this dialect live scattered in villages and small towns, they form no compact Gypsy quarters. They prefer to live in the outskirts of the settlements. Most of them have received (or bought with a state allowance) family houses with gardens in recent years. They keep up friendly relations with the Beas (Rumanian) Gypsies who constitute the majority of Gypsy population in this area. They can communicate only in Hungarian because the Beasés speak no Romani. They have no complaints against their non-Gypsy neighbours either who display no racial prejudices against them.

Most of the Vend Gypsies live in Nikla (Somogy county), a few families in Lengyeltóti, Mesztegyő, Öreglak, Somogyszentpál, Bize-Kelevíz, Újvárfalva, Táská and allegedly in Devecser, Ajka, Pápasalamon, Németújfalú.

The name *Vend* is that of a Southern Slavonic ethnic group speaking a Slovenian dialect. The speakers of this Slovenian dialect live in the Austrian-Hungarian-Yugoslavian frontier zone. However, it must be added that the name Vend Gypsy (*vend cigány* in Hungarian, *vendicko rom* in Vlax) is applied to them either by the non-Gypsy population or by other Gypsy groups. They use this name themselves only when they speak Hungarian and they do it in a sense "we are *called* Vend Gypsies", not "we *are* Vend Gypsies". When they speak Romani, they do not use this name or any other closer definition of their ethnicity or language. Then they say simply that they are *rom* ('Gypsies') and their tongue is *romani*. It should be also pointed out that their ethnic identity is rather different from that of other (Italian, Slovak, etc.) ethnic groups living in Western countries. It is no more than an opposition to non-Gypsies (*gaje*). It is a grave mistake to suppose that either racial factors (the "word of blood") or the idea of ethnic identity unite the different Gypsy groups. It is but the similarity of the way of life that brings near the individual Gypsy groups to other groups of the population be them Gypsies or even non-Gypsies living in similar conditions.

Geographically, the name *Vend* is in accordance with the origin of this group. Their presence in South-Western Hungary points to their previous

dwelling place in the Austro-Slovenian borderland. Curiously enough, the loan-words do not justify this interpretation. Besides Hungarian and German (viz., Austrian) loans, there is a limited number of Slavonic borrowings, too. However, the Slavonic words are not from Slovenian but from Croatian, from the *čakavic* dialect of this language (spoken in the Austro-Hungarian borderland). The *čakavic* Croatian dialectal area partly overlaps the Slovenian *Vend* one. Maybe, the ancestors of this Gypsy group have spent a considerable time in a territory with mixed Austrian and Croatian population, from there they went to the rather limited area of the Vend dialect for a shorter time and arrived to South-Western Hungary from the Vend territory (other routes are also possible). The Gypsies themselves do not remember any more from where their ancestors have immigrated. Thus, the immigration might have taken place at least two or three generations ago.

It is highly probable that the immigration is to be traced back to a more remote past for a number of loan-words from Hungarian have become constant elements of all branches of this dialect, among others, such basic words like *fatju* 'son' for Romani *čhavo*. Their presence in the Hungarian-speaking area is proved also by the Hungarian Gypsy vocabulary of Fr. Müller published by Miklosich in 1872.¹ Müller's collection contains, among Hungarian Gypsy (Romungro) material, a few words characteristic of the Vend Gypsy dialect (without any distinction). It is, however, troublesome that nineteenth-century Hungary included also present-day East Austria and but not Slovenia northern parts of Yugoslavia and Müller who had no sense of scientific accuracy did not indicate the provenance of the words.

The same Vend Gypsy dialect is (or was) spoken also in Southern Burgenland (East Austria) in Liebing. This is also a borderland of the Vend Slovenian area. Text specimens were collected there by J. Knobloch who published them in his excellent monograph *Romāni-Texte aus dem Burgenland* (1953), S. 41-57. His "Liebinger Dialekt" coincides with our Vend Gypsy dialect in all essential details. The only difference is that vowels are often diphthongized in the Liebing dialect, e.g., *khtelen* ~ *khēlen* 'to dance', *čúara* ~ *čōra* 'thieves'. Knobloch's publication is the only record of this dialect.

No traces of Gypsy folklore are manifest with the Vend Gypsies in Hungary. They have no folk songs. They sing Hungarian popular songs (in Hungarian) with the remarkable restriction that they seem to borrow the Hungarian songs not direct from Hungarian but through Vlach Gypsy (Lovāri) intermediation. The Lovāris are very fond of Hungarian popular songs but

¹ Miklosich: *Über die Mundarten und die Wanderungen der Zigeuner Europa's*. Bd. II. 1872, 37-61: Vocabular zusammengestellt aus drei Wörtersammlungen des Herrn Prof. Dr. Fr. Müller und aus der Grammatik von J. Bornemisza. Alle drei Quellen haben die Mundart der ungarischen Zigeuner zum Gegenstande.

they apply a very peculiar selection in the borrowing and they reshape the borrowed tunes and words in an unmistakable Gypsy way. Now, the Vend Gypsies sing the Lovāris' Hungarian songs. Besides, they reproduce also original Lovari songs in Romani, in the Lovāri dialect, with a lot of meaningless passages because they do not understand this Vlax dialect.

At variance with songs, no traces of folk tales could be found in Vend Gypsy folklore. (N. b., story-telling shows a rapid decline with Vlax Gypsies as well.) A young Vend Gypsy mother declared: *Paramisi romāne nā igen sokinas akām mā le fatjtunge te phēnel. Te paramisi sokdmjam te phēnel akor ungrika lenge phēnas* ('Nowadays, we rather seldom used to tell tales to the children in Romani. If we tell tales at all, then we tell them in Hungarian'). In order to obtain a longer text I told them a folk tale in Hungarian (originally recorded by myself in Romungro in North Hungary) and asked them to translate it. They did it with considerable skill and precision. The two parallel versions of the same text afford a comparison of these kindred dialects.

The Vend Gypsy dialect is a sub-dialect of Hungarian Gypsy (Romungro). The morphology shows no essential differences. Vend is especially close to the South-Western *Hiencnāri* dialect of Romungro. Lengthening of vowels (*kā mav* 'I like' for general *kamav*) and the forms *sīn* 'it was' (general *sja*, *sinja*), *nān* 'is not' (general *nāne*) are characteristic of these sub-dialects.

Phonology. The change *dž* > *ž* differentiates this sub-dialect from all other Romungro dialects: *žal* 'goes', general R *džal*; *lēžel* 'carries', general R *ledžel lidžel*. N. B., this change is independent of the similar change in Lovāri and does not result in a soft *ž* unlike Lovāri where some elderly speakers pronounce *žal*.

Dropping of final vowels of adverbs occurs very often: *akān* < *akani* 'now', *pal* < *pala* 'behind' 'after', *pāl* < *pale* 'again' and *pāle* 'back', *papal* < *papale* 'again'. The dropping is facultative in certain words: *ār* (seldom *āri*) 'out', *tēl* (seldom *tēle*) 'down', *khēr* ~ *khēre* 'home'. This dropping occurs also in the nominative case of certain substantives in *-i*: *pānj* < *pānji* 'water' (seldom and only individually). The final vowel is not dropped at the end of the sentence: *čhindé leskri mén tēle*, while *tēl čhinde leskri mén* 'his throat was cut'.

Vowels are often long in Vend Gypsy where R has short vowels. This is partly common with the Western sub-dialect of R where root vowels of verbs often get lengthened, e.g. Vend and WR *kā mav* 'I like', *phēnel* 'tells' (generally *kamav*, *phenel*). Lengthening, however, occurs more often in V and is not restricted to verbs: *dīkkel* 'sees', *phūčel* 'asks', *mānuš* 'man', *durēder* 'farther' *odōle* 'him' (generally, also WR, *dikhel*, *phučel*, *manuš*, *dureder*, *odole*). This lengthening concerns the penultimate syllable and disappears in other positions in the inflexion or word formation: *mānuša*, *mānušōro*, *dīkhā* (from **dikhāva*!)

'I will see'. It depends also on the position in the sentence: the same adjective has a long vowel as a predicate and a short one as an attribute: *thūló lo sin tej báro* 'it was thick and big' and *jek báro kášt* 'a big tree'. The exact rules of lengthening need further research.

The clusters *-ave-*, *-ive-*, *-ije-* are contracted in the conjugation: *tāl* < *tāvel* 'cooks', *žil* < *dživel* 'lives', *pīs* < *pījes* 'you drink'. It occurs less often with nouns: *dī* < *dīve* 'day', *godjār* < *godjaver* 'clever'. Similarly, the ending *-ovo*, *-uvo* of loan-words seems to be contracted: *hordó* ~ R. *hordōvo* 'barrel' (from Hungarian *hordó*), *fatjú* ~ **fatjúvo* (from Hung. *fattyú*).

The most important phonetic feature distinguishing V from R is the accent. In all R dialects stress is on the first syllable while in V it is prevailingly (but not regularly) on the penultimate one. E.g., *astárel* ~ R *ástarel* 'takes', *anguštéha* ~ R *ángušteha* 'with the finger', *duréder* ~ R *dúreder* 'farther'. Before a subsequent enclitic word, the accent shifts to the last syllable (like in Vlach, seldom in R): *upré le čhidtja* 'threw it up', *tādē la* 'they cooked it'. At variance with Vlach, the oblique form of the article can also have this enclitic role in V: *teccindjá le fatjúske* 'she appealed to the boy', *astardjá lakeri šórka* 'he seized its corner'. Similarly before the copula: *erdjavó hi* 'it is bad' (R *erdjavo hi*).

When final *-avel*, *-avo* etc. are contracted, the accent becomes an ultimate one: *gilál* < *gilavel* 'sings', *patáj* < *patavo* 'foot clout', *felhój* < *felhōvi* 'clouds', *kerájs* < *keraves* 'you make made'. When final vowels are dropped, the word becomes an oxytone one, too: *akán* < *akani* 'now', *eketán* < *ekethāne* 'together'. Many adverbs are oxytone: *odój* 'there', *āndé* 'in'.

There is a proparoxytone accent in the full form of the genitive case: *phenjākēro* 'of the sister', *šeréngero* 'of the heads'. Proparoxytone accent can appear optionally in the comparative of adjectives (depending on individual use: the same speaker stresses certain words on the penultimate, other words on the propenultimate syllable): *duréder* 'farther' (beside *zuraléder*), *báreder* 'greater'.

The ending *-ahi* of the imperfect is never stressed: *húšnelahi*, *piávlahi*.

The stress of the ending *-ino* of the past tense is quite facultative (with the same speaker, too): *bokhájino* beside *bokhajino* 'became hungry', *úštjino* beside *uštjino* 'rose' (the former is the usual one).

When the negative particle *na* 'not' is stressed, the following word is unaccented: *ná birindja* 'could not' (but: *sóske na mūkes* 'why do you not let').

In syntagmatic phrases, the first part is often oxytone: *khéré pēlo* 'arrived home' (but: *ál khēre*), *te molínél kezđindja* 'started praying', *būti te kērel* 'to work', *kítji kēráb būti* 'how much I work', *te lāčhó kerdjal* 'if you did well', *na pātjáv hodj* 'I don't believe that'. This is not the case with the attribute: *lāche fōti* 'fine clothes'.

Elision of final vowels before a subsequent vowel occurs less often than in R; only *ande* 'in', *upre* 'on', *uze* 'by', 'to', *te* 'too', 'if' drop always the final -e: *and'* *ek* 'in a', *upr'* *adā* 'on that', *t'* *ódoj* 'also there'. With other words, only similar vowels are dropped: *gel'* *o dad* (for *gelo o dad*) 'the father went' (but: *tēl ālo upral o kašt* 'went down from the tree', *phendja o mānuš* 'the man told'). Facultatively: *užārd'* *upre* (for *užārde upre*) 'waited on it', *só h'* *edej* (for *só hi edej*) 'what is here', *bešlah'* *uzar i jag* 'was sitting by the fire' (but: *žálahi ére óra* 'went to and fro').

There is ablaut in final -aj > -ej: *šej* < *šaj* 'possibly', *tej* *tāj* < *taj* 'and', *čej* < *čaj* 'girl'.

Assimilation of final consonant occurs in -av of the sing. 1. present: *kērāb būti* 'I work' (for *kērav*), *phīrap pal leste* 'I go behind him', *trādam mro šēro* 'I turn my head', *daf tut* or *dap tut* 'I give you' (but more often: *av tēle* 'come down', *hav tut* 'I eat you'). Also from *ōv* 'he'; *ōm meg* 'and he', *ōp phukādja* 'he told'.

Formation of loan-words. Hungarian substantives are borrowed with the suffix -o like in R: *falato* < H. *falat* 'bit'. After sibilants and soft consonants, with -i: *pajtāši* < H. *pajtás* 'friend'. This -i occurs here more often than in R: *barāti* < H. *barát* 'friend'. The suffix -a occurs mostly from words used in Hungarian with a possessive suffix: *āga* < H. *ág(a)* 'bough'. Words ending in -ó remain unaltered but become oxytone: *hordō* < H. *hordó* 'barrel'. Rather often, words ending in consonants remain unchanged as well (unlike R): *anjag* < H. *anyag* 'textile'.

Adjectives are formed by -no, verbs by -inel, like in R: *zavarošno* 'muddy', *bāntinel* 'hurts'.

Declension of substantives and adjectives is like in R. Masc. sing. acc. *manuše* 'the man', instr. *manušeha* 'with the man', gen. *manušéskro* (facultatively, less often, *manušéskero*) 'of the man'. The feminine form of sing. gen. is more often -keri or -kēri. Plur. gen. is usually -gero (-gēri), less often -gro/-gri.

Masc. sing. acc. from words in -i is -i (not -e as in R): *barāti* 'the friend'; gen. etc. -iskro like R, plur. -engero etc. Instead of plur. nom. *vadāssa* (R), here is *vadāsja* (obl. *vadāsen*).

Peculiar type is that in -ō and -ū (loan-words from Hungarian): *sabō* 'tailor', dat. *sabóske* (long ō), plur. nom. *sabój*; *fatjū* 'son', acc. *fatjū*, dat. *fatjūske*, plur. nom. *fatjūj* or *fatjūja* (facultatively), acc. *fatjūn*.

Feminine like in R: *žūvli* 'woman' (never *džūvli*, as in some R groups), acc. *žūvja*, plur. acc. *žūvjen*.

Adjectives: sing. nom. -o/-i, oblique -e/-a, plur. -e. E.g., *pārno gra* 'white horse', gen. *pārne grasteskro*, plur. *pārne grasta*; *bari hēv* 'deep hole',

loc. *bara hēvjate*. There is no fem. -e in the obl. cases as in R. — The adverbial form is -e; *lāche* 'well'.

Comparative: -ēder (seldom -eder), e.g. *ternēder* 'younger', *telēder* 'further down'. Superlative: *leg-*... -ēder, e.g. *leg ternēder* 'youngest' (from Hung.).

Numerals. Cardinal numbers remain uninflected in the oblique cases (unlike R): *jek bare manušeha* 'with a tall man' (R *jekhe b. m.*). Only the independent form is inflected: *mudārdja o jēkhe* 'he killed one of them', *só le dūjénge* 'to both of them'.

Substantives usually stand in plural after numerals but may stand also in singular in the nominative case (facultatively, like in R): *ēfta kurke* (seldom *ēfta kurko*) 'seven weeks'. In the oblique cases, only plural is used: *ēfta gurumnjen* 'seven cows' acc.

Ordinal numbers have the ending -o also in fem.: *i tritto čhej* 'the third girl'. The oblique case ends in -e (R -o): *ēftate šēroha* 'with the seventh head'. The same form in -e is used also independently: *le tritte* 'the third one' acc. (R *ole tritone*).

Multiplicatives are formed by -var like in R: *duvar* 'twice'.

Pronouns. Personal pronouns like in R. 1st person sing. acc. *man*, plur. nom. acc. *amen*; 2nd person sing. acc. *tut*, plur. nom. acc. *tumen*; 3rd. person *ōv* (other R forms do not occur), acc. masc. *le*, fem. *la*, plur. acc. *len* (R *le* and *len*).

Reflexive pronouns: sing. *pe peske* etc., plur. *pumen* etc.

The enclitic pronoun *lo/li*, *le* 'he/she/it, they' is often used. Its use is restricted to the end of the phrase in R; this is not the case in V. (*Jek šúkar čhéj díklah* 'ár *préko blóko*.) *Nadjón šukār li sîn* '(A nice girl looked out of the window.) She was very nice'. *Áfka mā trîn žēne le žánahi durēder* 'thus, the three of them went along'.

Possessive pronouns are: *mro* 'my', *tro* 'thy', *leskro* 'his', *lakēro* 'her'; *amaro* 'our', *tumaro* 'your', *lengro* 'their'. *Mro* is pronounced also *m'ro* or *m^uro*. The final vowel gets sometimes lengthened: *mrō mrī*, *trō trī*. There is no long (predicative) form as in R *mīro tiro*: V *āja mri hi* 'she is mine' (R *adā mīri hi*).

Demonstrative pronouns are different from R. 'This' is masc. *adā* or *ado* (facultatively), fem. *aja*, obl. *adale/adala*: *adā čhā* or *ado čhā* 'this boy', *aja čhej* 'this girl', *adale čhāveske* 'to this boy', *adala čhake* 'to this girl', *adale čhāve* 'these boys'. (R *ado/adā čhāvo*, *adā čhaj*, *adale/adala* etc.) Independently: nom. *adā*, acc. masc. *adāle*, fem. *adāla*, plur. *adāla* or *dala*.

'That' is masc. *odā* or *odo*, fem. *oja*, obl. masc. *odole* or *ole*, fem. *odola*, plur. *odole*: *odole* or *ole čhāveske*, *odola čhake*, *odole čhāve*. Independently: nom *odā*, acc. masc. *odōle* or *dōle*, fem. *odōla*, plur. *odōla*.

'The other one', plur. 'the others': masc. *okā*, fem. *okiĵa*, obl. *okōle*, plur. *okōla* or *ōla*. E.g., *amire ōla pāl pēle* 'when the others returned', *okōla fūrt gēle* 'the others went away'. The *o* is short in attributive use: *okōla dūĵ avér manūša* 'the two other men'.

Interrogative pronouns are like in R: *ko* 'who', *so* 'what'. They serve also as relative pronouns; the R relatives *ako*, *aso* (from Hungarian *aki*, *ami*) are not used in V.

Indefinite pronouns like in R: *valako* 'somebody', *valaso* 'something', *akārko* 'whoever', *akārso* 'whatever' etc. (from Hungarian *vala-*, *akár-*), *mere gūdi* 'wherever' (from Serbo-Croat. *-god*).

Negative pronouns: *niko* 'nobody', *ništa* 'nothing' (= R, from Serbo-Croat. *niko*, *ništa*).

The article is *o/i*, plur. *o* in the nominative (= R). In the oblique cases, it is *le/la* (plur. *le*); the R form *ole* is not used and the form *o* does not occur in obl. E.g., *le manušeske* 'to the man', R *le/ole/o manuseske*.

Verbs. The infinitive is formed by *te* with sing. 3 (not plur. 3 as in R): *uz i bōta žav mās' te kīnel* 'I'm going to the shop to buy meat' (R *džau and i bōta mas te kinen*).

The passive participle in *-do* is formed and used (predicatively, not attributively) like in R: *tādĵ hi i kāša* 'the mush is cooked'. The R participle in *-imen* is not used (type *irimen* 'written').

The frequentative is formed by *-ingērel*: *azdingērel* from *azdel* 'lift up', *mākhingērel* from *makhel* 'smear' (R *-kerel*).

The present tense has in sing. 1. *-av* (*kerav*), never *-au* or *-aw* as in R.

Verbs in *-avel*, *-ivel*, *-ijel* have contracted forms (see above): *tāvav*, *tajs*, *tāl*, *tāvas*, *tān*, *tān* 'cook'; *pijav*, *pīs*, *pīl*, *pījas*, *pīn*, *pīn* 'drink'.

The future tense is formed by *-a*: *kerā*, *kereha*, *kerla*, *keraha*, *kerna*, *kerna* (= R). The 1st sing. is facultatively short, especially when the preceding vowel is long: *tāva* 'I shall cook'. The verb *hal* 'eat' has *hasa* 'you/we will eat' for **haha*.

The past tense is palatalized (= R). The difference is in 1st sing. where V has *-um* (R *-om*): *kerdjum*, *kerdjāl*, *kerdja*, *kerdjān* *kerdjān*, *kerde*. Plur. 3. is hard while in some R groups it is soft (*kerdje*). — The 1st pers. sing. is sometimes (facultatively) pronounced *-om*: *kerdjom*.

The sing. 3. is *-lo*, fem. *-li*, from intransitive verbs: *gēlo/gēli* 'he/she went' (R *gēja*), *ālo* 'came' (R *āja*), *pēlo* 'fell' (R *pēja*), *mūlo* 'died' (R *mūja*), *phadjilo* 'broke' (R *phadjija*), *bēšto* 'sat' (R *beštja*). Thus: *ājum*, *ājal*, *ālo/āli*, *ājam*, *ājan*, *āle*.

In plur. 2. occasionally *-jan* > *-jen*: *mukjan* or *mukjen* 'you have let'.

There is no palatalized *-lj-* in the past tense as in some R groups (*kamlja*, *diklja*) only *-j-*: *kamja* 'he wanted', *dikja* 'he saw'. Plur. 3. is *-le*: *kamle*, *dikle*. Similarly, there is no *-nj-* (R *dinja*) only *-j-*: *dija* (or *dia*) 'he gave', unlike R (but plur. 3. is *dine* both in V and R; V also *din*). Similarly in compositions with *-del*: *cidel* 'pull' *cidia* (plur. 3. *cidin*), *čumidel* 'kiss' *čumidia*, *uštidel* 'receive' *uštidia*; also *lel* 'take' *lija*, plur. 3. *lin(e)*.

A number of reflexive (intransitive) verbs form the sing. 3. of the past tense by *-ino*: *terdjol* 'stand' *terdjino*, *uštjel* 'rise' *uštjino*, *čhindjol* 'be broken' *čhindjino*, *āčhel* 'stay' *āčhino*, *bokhajvel* 'be hungry' *bokhajino*, *urdjel* 'dress' *urdjino pe* (the other persons are by *-ij-*: *āchijum* etc.). Verbs in *-al* have *-āno*: *daral* 'fear' *darāno*, *urdjal* 'fly' *urdjāno*.

Irregular past tense: *merel* 'die' *mūjum*, *perel* 'fall' *pējum*, *āl* 'come' *ājum*, *lēžel* 'bring' *legēdjum*, *žal* 'go' *gējum*, *hal* 'eat' *hājum*. Plur. 3. of *žanel* 'know' is *žandle*, of *phenel* 'say' *phendle*.

Imperfect indicative and present conditional are formed by the characteristic R *-ahi*: *kerāhi*, *kerehahi* (R *keresahi*), *kerlahi*, *kerahahi*, *kernahi*, *kernahi* 'I have made' or 'I should make'.

Past conditional as in R: *kerdjumahi*, *kerdjalahi*, *kerdjahi*, *kerdjamahi*, *kerdjenahi*, *kerdjenahi* 'I should have made'. Sing. 1. is rather often *-omahi*: *kerdjomahi* (free variant).

Imperative = R: *ker* 'make', plur. *keren*; *terdjov* 'stand' (R *tordju*), plur. *terdjon*; *dara* 'fear', plur. *daran*. Irregular forms: *lēže* 'bring', *čhi* 'throw', *uštji* 'rise'.

Present tense of the copula is: *som/sum*, *sal*, *hi* (*si*), *sam*, *san*, *hi*. The form *si* occurs only in the sense of 'have': *si man lōj* 'I have money', and 'must': *si te žav* 'I must go' (dialectal variant: *is te žav*). The negative form of the 3rd person is *nān*: *man nān lōj* 'I have no money'; at the end of the sentence, *nāne* (or *nān*): *bok adaj nāne* 'here is no hunger'. The negative past tense is *nāna*: *nāna fīti i kāša* 'the mush was not ready'.

Past tense of the copula is: *somāhi*, *salahi*, *sīn* (or *sīne*, *sīnahi*), *samahi*, *sanahi*, *sīn* (or *sīnahi*, *sanahi*).

The future tense is formed from the suppletive verb *ōl* 'become': *ovā*, *oveha*, *ovla* (or *ōla*), *ovaha*, *ovna*, *ovna*.

Present conditional is *ovāhi* etc., past conditional *ūjomahi* etc.

Imperative: *ov*, *oven*.

Prepositions: *ande* 'in', *andar andral* 'from, out of', *angle angjal* 'before, in front of', *maškral* 'among, between', *pal* 'from', *preko* 'through', *tel* 'under', *telal* 'from under', *upre* 'on', *upral* 'from', *uze uzar* 'by, near, to', *vaš* 'for'. Final *-e* is dropped before vowels: *and o*, *uz ek*; *andar o* > *andr o*.

Substantives and demonstrative pronouns have the nominative case after prepositions if the substantive has a definite article: *and o vėš* 'in the

forest', *uzar i jag* 'by the fire'. If there is no definite article, the substantive can have the nominative or locative case, facultatively: *and ek baro vėš* or *and ek bare vėšeste* 'in a large forest', *uzar jek lokfa* or *uzar jek lokfate* 'by a river'. Personal pronouns have the locative: *uzar tute* 'with you', *angjal leste* 'before him', *andral lende* 'from them' (not with ablative as in R: *andar mandar*).

Preverbs: *ānde* 'in', *āngle* 'out, forward', *ār/āri* 'out', *cuj* 'to', *cum* 'together', *dond* 'aside, dis-', *fer* 'away', *furt* 'away', *ōdja* 'there', *ōnk* 'there, down', *pāl/pāle* 'back', *tēl/tēle* 'down', *upre* 'up'. The usual word order is that the preverb precedes the verb in indicative and follows it in imperative: *āngle del le manuše* 'puts the man forward', *de āngle le manuše* 'put the man forward!'. Particles (*te* 'to', *le/la* 'him/her') stand between the preverb and the verb: *āri te lel* 'to pull it out', *ār le legēdja* 'brought him out', *ār leha gēlo* 'went with him out'. (In R, these particles can also follow the verb: *āri ligidja le*.)

Conjunctions: R: *te* 'if', *té* 'also', *tej (taj)* 'and'; from Hungarian: *de* 'but', *hodj* 'that', *vadj* 'or'. After *te*, past tense is used: *te na žandjal o kašt āri te lel* 'if you will be unable to pull the three out'.

Lexical stock. The Vend Gypsy vocabulary is essentially identical with Romungro. The main difference is that V has a number of German loan words (R has none), a few čakavic (Croatian) words, and the Hungarian loans are not always the same. Some phonetical differences result in a different form of certain words.

The following sample list contains partly words characteristic of both V and R, different from other Gypsy languages, partly V words different from R (and other Gypsy languages).²

<i>āčhel</i> lives somewhere (R <i>bešel</i>), remains (R <i>ačhel</i>)	<i>avgun</i> the first time (R <i>angluneske, elösör</i>)
<i>afka</i> thus (R <i>afka, awka</i> ; Serbo-Croat. <i>ovako</i>)	<i>azdel</i> lifts up (R <i>vazdel</i>)
<i>āl</i> comes (R <i>avel</i>)	<i>balvas</i> lard (R <i>balevas</i>)
<i>ār, aver</i> other (R <i>āver</i>)	<i>balutno</i> left (Hung. <i>bal</i> ; R <i>balogno, H. balog</i>)
<i>ārto di</i> next day (R <i>āver dive</i>)	<i>beršengēro</i> ... years old (R <i>beršiko</i>)
<i>attji</i> so many (R <i>id.</i>)	<i>bočkora</i> shoes (H. <i>bocskor</i>)

² For the etymologies of the Croatian loan-words I am indebted to thank to Professor L. Hadrovics.

- cajt* time (German; R *čas*)
cilo whole (čakavic *cil*, *cilo*; R *celo*)
cikjel sucks (R *pijel*)
cuj to it (German; R *kia*); *cuj astārel*
 touches, *cuj dikhel* starts, *khēre cuj*
 homewards
cum together (G. *zusammen*; R *ekhe-*
tāne); *cum pērel* meets
čiknipe fat (R *čiken*)
čilla since long (R id.)
čhā son, boy (R *čhāvo*)
dī day (R *dive*)
djālo raw (R *jālo*)
djāro flour (R *jāro*)
dond aside, dis- (R *sūt*, H. *szét*); *dond*
dikhel looks around, *dond phāgel*
 breaks into pieces (Serbo-Croat.
donde 'up to the point')
dugo long (R id.; Serbo-Croat. *dug*,
dugo)
dukle, dokle till then (Serbo-Croat.
dokle 'until'; R *addig*, H.)
dūrutno foreign, stranger (R *idegenno*,
 H.)
edej here (R *adaj*)
erdjavo bad (R id.; Serbo-Croat.
rđav, *rđavo*)
esej such (R *aso*)
fatjū child, boy (H. *fattyú* 1. bastard,
 2. vulg. child; R *raklo*, *čhāvo*)
feltiko of a kind (G. *-fältig*)
fer perfective preverb, G. *ver-*; *fer*
terdjol stops
fīti ready (G. *fertig*; R *kisno*, H.)
flok stake (G. *Pflock*)
fōti clothes (R *gāda*; cf. H. vulg. *fót*
 'patch' ?)
fraj free (G.)
furt away (G. *fort*; R *-tar*)
gilāl sings (R *djilāzinēl*)
hajnel cares for it
hōr deep (R id.)
- ič* yesterday (R id.)
iringrel turns round (R *boldel*)
kada when (Serbo-Croat. *kada*; R
kana)
kārdjālinēl shoots (R *karjadel*)
kazijel tells (Serbo-Croat. *kazati*; R
phenel)
kērel makes (R *kerel*), hurts (R *bān-*
tinēl, H.)
kitji how many (R id.)
klāt clothes (G. *Kleid*; R *gāda*)
kopal stick (R id.)
krōt just (G. dial. *grad*)
khajt little (R *buka*, *zalog*)
khāvres, ēkhāvres each other (R *ekvares*)
lākhel finds (R *arakhel*)
lēžel carries (R *lidžel*, *ledžel*)
lōj money (R *lōve*)
lokfa, lukfa streamlet (Serbo-Croat.
lokva; R *patako*, H.)
miccīnēl moves (Serbo-Croat. *micati*,
micati se)
močārno ugly (R *džungalo*)
molīnēl prays, asks (Serbo-Croat. *mo-*
liti; R id.)
murš husband (R *rom*, *gādžo*)
onk *čhīnēl* dashes to earth
pekāl must, needs (R *kampel*)
pētja stove (Serbo-Croat. *peć*; R *bōv*)
plān mid-day, at noon (Serbo-Croat.
pladne, *plande*)
pomožīnēl *āri* sets free (Serbo-Croat.
pomoći)
porotālīnēl talks (Serbo-Croat. *porotiti*
se, obsolete)
preko over (Serbo-Croat. *preko*; R id.)
pro foot (R id.)
prengēro policeman (R *šingālo*)
phukavel says
sej what kind of (R *savo*)
šoffīnēl orders (G. *schaffen*?)
šujbīnēl *tēle* pills down (G. *schieben*?)

<i>švoh, švah</i> feeble (G.)	<i>vōdinēl</i> leads (Serbo-Croat. <i>voditi</i>)
<i>terdjol</i> stands (R id.)	<i>vurci</i> beard (Serbo-Croat. dial. <i>brci</i>
<i>them</i> country, world, heaven (R <i>them,</i>	'moustache'; R <i>čhora</i> ; also Vend
<i>svito, nebo</i>)	<i>čhora</i>)
<i>ūrdjal</i> flies (R <i>ural</i>)	<i>zubunj</i> coat (R <i>zubuno</i> ; Serbo-Croat.
<i>ūrdjel</i> dresses (R <i>urjel</i>)	<i>zubun</i>)
<i>uštidel</i> receives (R id.)	<i>žūvli</i> woman, wife (R <i>džūvli, romni/</i>
<i>vēka</i> basket (H.; R <i>košāra</i> H.)	<i>gādži</i>); <i>lel žūvjake</i> marries (R <i>lel</i>
<i>vrištjanel</i> cries (Serbo-Croat. <i>vrištati,</i>	<i>romnjake</i>)
<i>štokavic! R vičinel</i>)	

Text specimen:

*The White Mare's Son*³

Sīn kaj nāna, sīn jékkar jek párho grá. Odóle párne gráste sīn jek fatjú. Odá fatjú prā dátar pīlahi éfta bérš, éfta másek, éfta kurke, éfta dī, éfta óri, éfta pérc. Akkor ár la (!) legédja ande jek báre vēšéste. Ando vēš sīn jek nádjon báro kášt. Nádjon thūló lo sīn, tej báro. Ōdjá gēlo leskro dát, ár cidija o kášt pre maškarútne anguštéha, t' upré le čhidtja ando thém. Upro kášt sí te užárde amēg pāl tēl pēlo trīn dī taj trīn rátja. Kada tēl pēl' o kášt, ōdjá pēlo, khatar le āri cidija. Akor odá phendja o grá pre fatjúske: "D' ákam mro čha dīk cúj tú!" Ōdjá gēlo o čhá, hodj maj t' ōv még le próbālnla. De o čhá ná bīrindja le te kērel.

³The story is one of the most popular Hungarian folk tales (Aarne-Thompson 301B, *Quest for a Vanished Princess*, preceded by: *The Strong Man and his Companions*. Cf. *Magyar néprajzi lexikon* II, s.v. *Fehérlófia*). This variant is one of the finest ones. It was told by János Berki in Romungro, in Varsány, 1974. The original Romungro text was published in: Vekerdi, J.: A magyar cigány nyelvjárás nyelvtana. In: Tanulmányok a cigány gyerekek oktatásával — nevelésével foglalkozó munkacsoport vizsgálataiból IV. Pécs 1981, 65–77.

The oral Vend translation was made in 1981. The translator said about herself: *Károji Gizi sum. Bišudúj beršengēri. Nikl' āchav andi Tāncsics Mihály út húsz per a. Jēk tikni čhaj hi man, štār beršengēri hi li. Mro mūrš andi bōrtōn hi. Andi sáki másek phirap pal léste beszélőre. Jēk prēngēre mārđja; harminc hónap ūstidia vāše. Pānč másek hodj āndé hi lo čhito; mēg dār ovla oja cájt amira khēr avla. Dūkile mra čháha sum edej khēr korkōri. Būti kērav, phirav napszámbe. Akān elsején žāv andi szőlészeti gazdaság, būti te kērel. (— Your wages?) Dáj ezeri pānč, dáj ezeri šōv; attól függ, kitji kērāb būti; teljesítményre. 'My name is Zella Károlyi. I am twenty-two years old. I live in Nikla, Tāncsics Mihály street 20/a. I have a little daughter, she is four years old. My husband is in prison. I go to him every month for visiting time. He beat up a policeman; he received thirty months for it. He has been in gail for five months; the time it will be a long time now he returns home. Till then, I am with my daughter here at home alone. I do work, I work by the day. On the first of this month I will start working in the viticultural farm. (— Your wages?) Two thousand five hundred, two thousand six; it depends on how much I do; there is a task wage system.'*

I publish the text with abbreviations.

Odá phendja leskro dát: "Měg sť te pís ěfta bérš, ěfta másek, ěfta dí, ěfta őri, ěfta pérc." Khér legědja odole fatjú . . .

Měg ār leha gělo ando věš. Akor o čhá náki ušťjino le báre kaštéske, mer mār bít zór le sīnahi. Ov ní na le máškarutne angušteha ástardja o kášt, sar leskro dát, hanem pre tĭkne angušteha. Sar cúj astárdja, ma upré le čhidiĵ' ando thém. Šóv dí, šóv ráťja sť te užárde upro kášt amig těl pĕlo. Údjan ódja pĕlo, káthar le ár line. "Dé mro čha, akām mā dĭkhav, zorálo sal, tej báro. Akān mā šěj žás, mére gúdi kaméha. Vaš mánde šěj žas m' āndo thém, thém te prōbālĭnel. Dókle žá, áměg esěj pajťášť tuke na lākhes, sar tú so sal."

Té j indūlkndja o čhá. Leskri déj upré le tārīsñāzīndja, gĕló le báre drómeske. Žál, žal bít théma, nádjon dūr žal, bókhajīno mā, těl bĕšto uzar jek lokfáte, hodj te pĭl pānji. Pānji kamlahi te pĭl. I lúkfa nádjon čĭkālī sīnahi. Tĕlĕder gĕlo, hodj majd ódōthār pĭla, t' ódoj ĭsapóšno sīnahi. Upré cuj žal, t' ódoj ĭsapóšni hi. Ákār mére žalahi, věgig ĭsapošno sīnahi. Jĕfkar čak upré dĭkja, hāt dĭkja, hodj jek nádjon báro mānuš o báre bára dón njumĭngĕra^{hi} ando pānji. Ódjá leske vrĭšťjandja: "Hĕ, só kĕres ódoj? Sóske na mákes hodj pānj te pĭjav? Sóske le čĭkajisāres úpre?" Ódā phendja o báro mānuš: "Měg tú vakĕres mánge, tĭkno manušoro? Mĭndjā hāv tut, dón tut moržolĭnav údjan áfka sār odola bára!" Adaléha ódjá ušťjĭn' uzo pārne grastéskro fatjú, hodj ónk le te čhĭnel. Hām le pārne grastéskro fatjú ná darandisājino léstar. Astárdja le báre manuše, ónk čālādja, áfka hodj májnem mūlo. "Mā mān ker! Khetān hā tuha o máro té na man —, ámĭg žĭjā, mĭndig túha ova; ŭzar túte ova." Áfka ná bāntindja le pārne grastéskro čhá le báre manuše. Áfka mā dúj žĕne géj' ande drómēge (!) . . .

Pĕle and' ĕk báre věšĕste. Žānahi ando věš té tĕl t' úpre, rúdñahi thān kaj te žānĕn pumen te cĭdel, krót ande věšĕskero máškarutno. Phéndja le pārne grastéskro čhá, óv sīnah' ōprútno (var. ° uprútno): "Kó āčla khér, hodj te tāl i káša? Amen žás te kárdjālĭnel ando věš." "Mé sum o légternĕder, maj me khér āčhav." Té khér āčhĭjum (!) hodj te tāl i káša. De phukādja leske pārne grastéskro čhá: "Mire khér peraha, dókle te tájs i káša." Okóla fúrt gĕle. Ko srastĭ hūšnelahi, khér āčhĭno, ĭringĕrlahi pe, tej tādja i káša. Mā májnem tādja la. Akkor tĕl vrĭšťjāndja upral o kášt jek tĭkno manušoro. Leskre vūrci nádjon dúgo (duge?) sĭn, déšudĭj mĕteréšne le sĭn. "Déha man andral oja káša?" "Na dáv tut! Ān khér mre štār manuša, odolēnge pekāl." "Na dés man? T' úpral tro pĕr le tĕl hav!" Tĕl ālo ŭpral o kášt o tĭkno mānuš, ástardja le, ónk le čālādja, upre leskro pĕr čhĭdja i lāboškĭnja, tej hája odóthar i káša. Káda i káša hája, akkor fúrt peske gĕlo. Akkor mā hĭjāba čhĭdja upre okĭja káša, dókle ná tādĭjĭli, amire óla pāl pĕle. Khér āle o vadāsja, khĭné le sīnahi, bokhāle trušālĕ le sĭn, te hāl kamnahi. I káša djāli sĭn. "Só kerdjal, tú?! Sōjhāhi vadj só kerehahi? hodj nān mĕg fĭtĭ i káša." Na trānĕndj' ov lenge níš the phĕnel, hodj kó la hája; hodj jek tĭkno manušoro sĭn čak. Úpre čhite áver káša, tādĕ la.

Árto dí, k' ō partĭ azdĭngerlahi, ód' āčhĭno khĕre. T' óv údjan afká pĕlo sar okā mānuš. T' ódoleske hája upral o pĕr o tĭkno mānuš i káša. Mĕgin ān

khér o vadásja andro vész, té leske údjan odá phendle, hodj só kerdjal edej khére? sōjháhi hodj nán fíti i káša? Arto dí, kó o kaštá khuvlahi, odá āčhino khēre. T' óv údjan afká pēlo sár okóla dúj avér manuša. Hājá lestar o tíkno mānuš i káša. Légkēšōbben k' ō srastí hušnelahi, od' āčhino khēre. T' ódoleske hāja i káša o tíkno mānuš ūpral o pēr.

Odá phendja le párne grastéskro čhá: "Díkhav, ná žānen tumén káša te tál. Máj tāva me tumenge káša, tumara dákre (var. dákere) dēvle! Maj mé sikavā tumenge, hodj só štār žēne hása andral ója káša." Khér āčhino le párne grastéskro čhá. Tāvlahi i káša, tāvlahi, mā májnem fíti le sín, jékkar čak tél vrištjandja o tíkno mānuš ūpral o kášt: "Déha man āndral ója káša?" "Dáf tut, čak áf tēle!" Tēle māsindja, ónk kamlahi te čalál le párne grastéskre fatjút, de le párne grastéskro čhá zorálo mānuš sín, astardjá le, upré le azdíja leskre čhoréNDAR fógva, odjá le legēdj' uz ek báre kaštéste, tél pharādja jék āga, ēpaš, ōdjá āndé soritindja leskre čhór. Odój lōgtinlah' o tíkno mānuš. Fíti ūli i káša, ávnahi khér okóla, díkle hodj fíti hi i káša, tādí hi li. Upre khāvréste díkle, mā žānnahi khāvréstar (var. ēkhāvréstar), hodj sár phírde, hodj hājá leNDAR o tíkno mānuš i káša. "Adaléstar ná hāja i káša, séj hodj murdārdjá le." Kada o vadásja hále, odá phendja léngé párne grastéskro čhá: "Adā tíkno manušóro hāja tumendar i káša? Šáj tumen lážan. Ávén, sikāváv tumenge, káj hí lo, hodj káj le čhí-tjum." Ōdjá gēle, ní o kašt nána odoj, ní o tíkno mānuš. Pré čhoréNDAR fógva ár cidíja o báro kášt. Fúrt gēl' o tíkno mānuš le kaštéha.

Pal ratéskeri čápa díkle mére cuj gēlo. Žánahi pal ratéskri njóma, hāt káj lēžel o rát, uz' ēk bára hēvjáte. Uzar i hór gōdōr (var. hēv) jék báro bār sín. Mēg pāndž žēné na žandle odā báro bār te méccinel (?) fúrt. Cúj díkja sav' ō bār hušnelahi, tél āndral hušéndja ek lácho fálató. Áfka phára kínaha fúrt žande o bār odóthar te miccinel. Tél díkle, báro hōrikhaj sín odoj. Vakéren khāvréha, kó žal tēle āngjál. O lég švohéder (var. švahéder) sín maškral lénde sávo o bār hušnelahi. "Maj mé tél žáv!" "Tél ām, ham sóha tut mákas tēle?" Ōdā phendja upr' adā sav' ō kášt khúvlahi: "Khuvá jek vėk' āndral o kášt, taj jek šėlo." Mék khūdjum (!) le egykettőre, t' i vėka taj t' ó šėlo. Odá phendja léngé: "Te tél man mukjen tej cidíngérdjum o šėlo, akor ciden man pāl upre. Mer akkor dāráv odój tēle." Ándé bėšt' andi vėka, ēpen hodj tēle mukl' ē' khajt, mār vrištjánlahi: "Ciden man āri, hán man o sāpa! Attji sápa sín edej." Odolėha ár le cidin. Tél gėlo oká, savo o thána (corr. dombí) azdíngérlahi. T' óv darandisáino, t' óv ár vrištjandja: "Ciden man āri, mer hán man o žámbi." Tél gėlo savo srásta hušnelahi, t' óv údjan afka dārandisáino. Té le āri cidin. Áfka hodj upre párne grastéskro čhá pēlo i sór. De óp phukādjá lengé: "Ōrdé šunen! Akān mé bėšav andi vėka. Te cidium o šėlo, má man ciden āri. Múken man tēle. Tej úžāren upre mānde ēfta bėrš, ēfta másek, ēfta kúrke, ēfta dí, ēfta ōri, ēfta pėrc. Te ní akkor mēg nā ājum pále, tej ná cidium o šėlo, akkor šáj mūninen hodj mājum. De dókle edej užāren upre mānde." Odolėha vá lenca dí (corr. día), kėrde sá so pekāmlo, odolėha tél le mukle. T' óv cidíngérlah' o šėlo, mer t' óv dāralahi, ham mēg le tél mukle.

Tél le mukle, tél pëlo tel i phúv ando thém. Odój tel e phúv upro ár them jek tükno khér dikja. Ándé gëlo, krót odój sîn o tükno mánuš, odój bešlah' úzar i jág, djōdjñōvēnjtha mākHINGÉlahi pre ċhór. Ōdjá úštjino uze léste le párne grastéskro ċhá, astardjá le ċhoréNDAR fógva, ándé le njómINDJA andi pëtja. Thārdjá le.

“Dé — phendja — akān ma edej tél sum, akor dónd dikhav, hodj só h' edej.” Žálahi ére óra, dikja jék harkumítiki dís. Andi harkumítiki dís jék šúkar ċhéj diklah' ár préko blóko. Nadjón šukār li sîn, teccindjá le fatjúske. “Dé — phendja — adála lāv žūvjáke.” Ōdjá gëlo uzi ċhéj. I dís forgtñlahi. Ōdjá uštjino a ċha, astardjá lakeri šórka, mINDJār terdjārdjá la. Ōdjá gëlo uzi ċhéj, ċúmidiá la; i ċhéj odá phendja: “Sár pejal órdé? káda mēg i ċhIRIKlī na phīREL āre; té lakere pháka tél phabonahi. Žá adāthar, mro mūrš ěfta šērēngero šārkānjī hi, taj mINDJār khēr āl, mūrdārél tut.” “Ná hajnam mé, mēg te déšudūj sere lé óle, mēg t' akor tūt lēžāv lēstar. Káskri ċhéj sal?” “Mé le njúgati ktrājiskri ċhéj sum.” “Kadá al khér tro mūrš?” “Akān gëlo te vādāstnel, de ná dūr khēr avla mān. Cīde tut fér valakhaj; te khēr āla, dónt tut ċHINGÉREL.” “Nā bŭjñám me fér!” Ép-pen hodj ād' āri phendja, upral o dūr théma đlo khēr lakro (!) buzogānj. “Válako dūrutnó h' edej ānde mro kher. MINDJār pēkāv le tej hāv le.” Khēr āl' ō šārkānjī, odá phendja: “Žūvli, dé j āngle odóle vīdēki manūše, té pēkāv le téj te hāv le.” “Ná pekašs man te hál, ní te pēkel, edej sum angjal tūte.” Bāro dīkja o šārkānjī, hodj esēj khājt manušoro h' āngjal léste. Vā 'starde. Áfka soritINDJA le párne grastéskro ċhá leskro vā, rát fōjñlahi lēskē āndr o vá. “Dikhav, zorálo mánuš sál. Ávgun te hāv, te píav, akor āri žaha upro harkúmo réto, odój dikháha khāv-réskri zór.” Hále, ċājīle, odolēha ár gēle upro harkumítiko réto, mārñahi pumen, párne grastéskro ċhá ónk le ċālādja áfka, hodj āndé ċhindīne só leskere šōv šēre. Čak le ěftáte šēróha ná birINDJA. Ár lia pre ċhūri, odolēha tél ċhindja leskro šēro. De áfka murdājino o šārkānjī. Ōdjá gëlo uzi ċhéj. “Dé — phendja lake — akān mā fráj sal, šēj žas pāl uze tró dat.” “Žáhi mé; sí man edej trīn phēnja. T' ódōlen ár si te sábaditñinas.” IndulINDJA o ċhá ...

Fráj ūli t' ója ċhaj. O fatjút upre sáki palóta upré ċālādja jek kopajáha, andral sáki jek phābá ūli. O fatjút sáki phāb' ande prē posítja ċhitja. Ōdjá gēle uzi hēv. Upré cidin' ávgun la harkumítika ċhá. Odoj úpre o báre mánuša mINDJār te vrištjanél kezdinde, cūm pumen mārde: “Ája mrí hi, ája mrí hi!” Dehat káskēri te ōl? Sāvo o bára moržolínlahi, odoléskēri ūli. Pālal upré cidin la rup-púna ċha. “Ája mrí hi, ája mrí hi!” Ója meg k' ō dombi azdingerlahi odoléskēri ūli. Upré cidin la sōmnakúna ċha. Ója meg k' ō kášt khuvlah' odoléskēri ūli. Mā ċak i djēmānt ċhéj āchīni tēle. Odá leske (!) phēndja párne grastéskro ċhá: “Órdé šun! Šēj hodj mán ná cidna upre, mer o céla ċhājen ár dijum. Tu ódoj úpre úžār upre mánde ěfta bérš, ěfta másek, ěfta kúrke, ěfta dī, ěfta óri, ěfta pérc. Te ní akkor ná djutINDJUM āri, akkor šēj muršé les.”

Té afka ūlo. Ár cidin la djēmāntítika ċhá, ója meg le Vāždjūróskeŕi ūli; ko o srāstī hušnel, odoléskēri ūli. Odá phendja párne grastéskro ċhá ande péste: “Te mé bēštjūm andi véka ānde, ěpaš upré man cīden, upral o ěpaš dróm pāl

man mùken. *Eděj murdájovav. Ar prōbālīnav mre bārāten.*” *Adalēha jek bāri bār čhítja andi vėka, ōm meg órafēder tērdjīn. Čīden upré cuj, ūpral o épaš dróm pāl mukle i vėka. “Dé — phendja — te mé beštjumah’ ānde, murdájjumahi.” Órafēder gėlo ūzar i gōdōr. Odoj úpre meg odā gondolinde, hodj ōv bešlah’ andi vėka taj mūlo.*

Ōv žalahi t’ ére t’ óra, upré pėlo upré jėk bāro dómbo. *Upr’ odā dómbo jek bāro čirikjāno fćcko sīn. Ando fćcko hūrde čirikja sīn. Ālo jek bāro brišint, akėbor jėgi potjogīnnahi, sār mri dūmuk. Só te kėrel o fatjū, tėl čhítja pro zubúnj, upré le bujhárdja upro fćcko, hodj té na murdájon o čirikjóra. Fér terdjīn’ ō brišint, and’ ója minūti khěr pėli i phūri čirikli. O čhā cidijá pe ande jėk kaštėskro (? čhėvo?). Odā phendja i phūri čirikli le tókne čirikjenge: “Phėnen, kó mentindja tūmaro életo?” “Eděj hi lo, fér bujindja, dārāl tūtār. Adā šúkar čhā mentindja àmaro életo.” O čhā mīndjar anglé ālo tėlal o kášt. Odā phendja: “Mėntindjūm len; tásjėnahi le bút brišindėstar.” Odā phendja i čirikli: “Te lāčhó kerdjal mre čirikjėnca, só kīvānīnes vāše?” “Nā kīvānīnav tūtār đver, čak lėže man úpre and’ okā thém.” Odā phendja i čirikli: “Éppen akān đjum odóthar. Akān mā ná žānav tut upré te lėžel. Akān mā ná āčhīni ande mānde zór. Čák akkór tut žānav upré te lėžel, te serzīndjal mange éfta gurúmnen, éfta māre, éfta hórdō mól. Adā upre mro dumó fógineha te rakīnel. Kada upre čāči ris trādam mro šero, ákor jėk hórdō mól čhór ande mro múj, kada upre balútni ris trādam mro šero, ákor jėk māró njomīn ande mro muj, kada upré cuj āzdām mro šero, ákor jėk gurumnjá čhīde ande mro muj.”*

O fatjū cūm kedija vālasar adā hābe, upré le rakindja upri čirikli. *Ūrdjal leha upré cuj i čirikli, eré cuj trādel i čirikli pro šero, jėk hórdō mól, orá cuj trādel pro šero, jėk māro, upré cuj, jėk gurúmni. Ma májnem upré ūrdjāne, upré azdija i čirikli pro šero, hām mā nāná mas. Só te kėrel o fatjū, ānglé lija o fatjū pri čhūri, tėl čhindja āndral pro cómbo jek fálato más, odā čhidija la čirikjáke ando múj. Āfka upré žandja leha te ūrdjál. Kada o fatjū tėl uštādja uprál i čirikli, bāngó lo sīn. “Só tuha pėlo, mri (!) gázda?” “Níšta, čak dúkhāl mro pró; fér žibbadindja (var. fér pe suto).” “Déhodj žibbadindja fér — phėndja i čirikli. — O rát fojinel āndrál. Šújbin tėl tri sósten, māj dikhā, só hi tuha.” Há kāmja há na, tėl si te šujbīndja pri sósten o fátjū. Díkkel i čirikli, hodj jėk bāro fálato más hījānjzinel āndral leskro pró. I čirikli mīndjar pāl čhungárdja leskro más údjan upr’ odā thān. “Te žandjūmahī, hodj sėj lāčho más hi tut, ódoj tėl hājómahi tut. Akān mā t’ édej upré sam, žá mere kámeha.”*

Hām pobistėrdjum te phėnel (var. phukál), hodj o chāja odoj tėl đīn man (!) trín ākhóra. *Taj đīn le jėk káptaŋa, jėk súv. Kada o fatjū odoj tėl sīn, kirājítike gāda sīn upre léste. Kada odoj upre phirlahi, tálālkozindja (var. cūm pėlo) jėk kánāsīha. Odā phendja le kánāsīske: “Šógor, dé mange tre fótī, mé meg ōdjá dam mré.” O kanási lažalahi pe, hodj “Sár iš déhahi tú mange tre lāche fótī?” Odā phendja o fatjū: “Čhí tut tēle ōdjá dam mré.” Tėl pé čhítja, o fatjū upré len lija, upré pe ūrdjīno ande le kanāsískre erdjáve (var. močārne) fótī. Ákor o*

fatjú gělo ando báro fóro. And' odá fóro sîn o čhájja, kírājǵá ũle àndral lènde, mer sáka čháke kírājǵi sîn lengro dát. O fatjú àndé terdjîno sáboške. Čak ségědiske lé lîn úpre.

Ko o srastá hušnelahi, odoléskri žúvli, i djémāntkírājǵlānj, mīndig odá phenlahi, dókle na lél mūrše, ámig esěj t' esěj gáda ná kēren láke, ámig na ó la sávi sar o khám (corr. thém) dívěse, t' ó felhój té ũsīnen úpre láte. Kát té na la čhīnel, súv té na la sīl. O kírājǵi mīndjar ár le hirdetīndja, hodj még te ōl, ákār kítǵi lǵj te pēlo, ham náko na žándja adála fǵti te sīl. O fatjú mángja pre meštéri, hodj te múkel hodj óv le te sīl. Óv múkja hodj te sīl le. Ánglé lija o jěk ákhor, upré le phāgja, àndé sîn o thán. O čhá mīndjar phéndja la súvjáke, la katjáke, egy a kettőbe kīsno sîn o klát. Legéde la kírājǵkinjáke o fǵti. "Akān mā díkhav hodj žil mro kedvéšno mūrš, čak odá na žānav hodj kāj hi lo." De adá phendja k' ó srastá hušnelahi: "Akān mā áv uze mánde žúvjáke!" ...

"Dúkle ná žav uze túte, ámig t' ódole manúše na ánes angjal mánde, kó adála fǵti sídjja." Sáko mānuš lažálahi pe hodj esěj melálo mānuš nášti žal ódja, sár ko o fǵti kerdja. T' ákor iš ódjá le pekámle te lēžel. Angjal láte le vódinde. I čhéj ázonnal prīndžárdja le, hīāba lo sīn melálo, andi mén leske ũštīni, cūm pumen čúmikerde. "Tú sal mro mūrš, tú man mentīndjal le šárkānjistar." Akkor tēl pe čhitja, upré pe ũrdjîno ando kírājǵitike fǵti. Akor t' ókōla le prīndžārde, hodj kó hi ov, hodj óv hi lēngro bārāti. Akkor dārandisájīne lestar. Kāj odój le mukle andi hǵr hēv, só le štāren būntetīndja. O jěkhe líbapāstoriske čhitja upré jěk beršéste, okōle kanāsiske čhítj' upré jek berš, le trítte čordāšiske, áfka hodj sákōn upré jěk-jěk beršéste būntetīndja. Óv meg lija la gyémāntlány žúvjáke. Le Važdjūróske ná áčhīno žúvli.

Báro bijáv kerde, té me gējum ódja. Mer šúndjum hodj báro bijáv hi. Gējum; báro čhorripé sîn odoj khēr, déšudǵj fatjúj mán sîn. Uze mánde lijum jěk báro gǵno. Gējum uzo bijáv, mer t' i čhaj t' ó čha prīndžārnáhi man. "Ájál?" phúčle. "Ájum." "Liker órde o gǵno." Ódjá likerdjum o báro gǵno, àndé čhorde jek píri zúmi. Kada ande čhǵrde i zúmi, pālal andé čhorde jěk bári píri téjfelóšno más. Upro tetévo meg pǵrkǵlt. Ánde mro vá megin báro kokálo dīn. Ándé phandjum o gǵno, upré le rakīndjum upro dúj phíke, žáv khér cuj. Bári čtk sîn ére cuj. T' ó gāže čoré sīn; ál khér o jěk gāžo, phúčel: "Só lēžes, Jáni? Dé té man àndral!" "Me na dáp tut! Déšudǵj fatjúj hí man odój khér, só cíle bokhāle hí." "Dé man!" "Na dāv!" "Dé man!" "Na dāv!" Hāt o gāžo só kerdja, anglé lija andral pre posítja i chūri, upré pharādja o gǵno, ár fojīndja andral i bút zúmi. Rustjėjum, díkjum hodj o zukēla hán cum o bút hābe. Só kerdjum, ande mro vá sīn o báro kokálo, astardjum le, cúj le čālādjum uze gažéskro pró, áfka hodj phadjīno leskro píó. Pháge próha gělo khér o gāžo.⁴

⁴The original Romungro text begins: *Ká sa ká na sjá, sinja ek párho grá. Odole párne gráste sinja ek čhávo. Odá čhávo píja pe dátar éfta bérša, éfta máseka, éfta kúrke, éfta díve, éfta óri, éfta minútǵja. Odoleha ári lígídja t' ekhe báre vēšeste. Ando vēš sinja ek báro baro kášt. Bārek thálo ssa, áčo. Áddje gēja o dád, ári linja le pe kǵžpššone anguštéha eš úppe le čhídīnja zí ko nébi. Po kášt kámpel te ũžaren mēg tēle péja trīn díve, trīn rájja.*

Translation

There was or wasn't, once there was a white horse. This white horse had a son. This son sucked from his mother seven years, seven months, seven weeks, seven days, seven hours, seven minutes. Then he took him into a huge forest. In the forest there was a very big tree. It was very thick and high. The father went up to it, pulled the tree out with his middle finger and threw it up to heaven. For three days and three nights they had to wait for the tree to fall down again. When the tree fell down, it fell just there from where he pulled it out. Then the horse spoke to his son, 'Now, my son, it's your turn to do it'. The son stepped up to it so as to try it. However, the son was unable to do it. His father said, 'You have to suck seven years, seven months, seven days, seven hours, seven minutes more'. He took the son home . . .

(This is repeated twice.)

He went with him into the forest again. Then the son jumped at the big tree for he was already very strong. He seized the tree not with the middle finger as his father did but with his little finger. When he touched it, at once he threw it up to heaven. Six days and six nights they had to wait for the tree to fall down. It fell just there from where he took it out. 'My son, now I see, you are strong and adult. Now you may go wherever you wish. I think, you may already go out into the world to try your luck. Go and search until you find such a companion for yourself as you are.'

The son set out. His mother gave him provisions for the journey and he took the road. He walks and walks through many countries, walks very far, becomes hungry, sits down by a streamlet to drink. He wanted to drink water. The streamlet was very muddy. He went lower down so as to drink there, there also it was muddy. He went higher, there too it was muddy. Wherever he went it was muddy all along. Suddenly he looked up and saw that a very tall man scrambled big rocks into the water. He shouted to him, 'Hey, you! What are you doing there? Why don't you let me drink water? Why do you trouble it?' The tall man said, 'You little man, you try to give me orders, do you? At once I'll swallow you, I'll scramble you like those rocks!' With these words he jumped to White Mare's Son to dash him to the earth. But White Mare's Son did not get frightened of him. He grabbed the tall man, dashed him to the earth so that he nearly died. 'Don't hurt me! I'll eat my bread together with you if you don't, — I'll follow you, will be with you as long as I live.' Thus, White Mare's Son did not harm the tall man. Then the two of them continued their way . . .

(They meet also Hill-roller, Pine-twister and Iron-kneader who are also defeated by White Mare's Son in the same manner.)

They arrived in a huge forest. They wandered in the forest to and fro, they looked for a spot where they could have a rest. It was just in the middle

of the wood. White Mare's Son spoke, he was their head, 'Who will stay at home to cook the gruel? We'll go hunting in the wood.' 'I'm the youngest, I'll stay at home.' Well, he stayed at home to cook the gruel. But White Mare's Son told him, 'By the time we return home, you shall get the gruel ready'. The others went away. Iron-kneader stayed at home, bustled about, cooked the gruel. It was nearly cooked. Then a little man shouted down from the tree. His beard was very long, it was twelve metres long. 'Will you give me some of this gruel?' 'I won't give you any. My four men are going to return home, it is for them.' 'Will you not give me? I'll eat it up even from the top of your belly.' The little man climbed down the tree, seized him, dashed him to earth, put the pot on his belly and ate the gruel from there. When he had eaten the gruel, he went away. Although he put yet another gruel on the fire, it was not ready by the time they returned. The hunters arrived home, they were tired, hungry and thirsty, wished to eat. The gruel was uncooked. 'What have you been doing? Sleeping or what? that the gruel is not ready!' He did not dare to tell them who has eaten the gruel, that it was only a little man. They put another gruel on the fire and cooked it.

Next day, Hill-roller remained at home. It was the same with him as with the other man. The little man ate the gruel from the top of his belly, too. Again the hunters return from the wood, they tell also him the same, 'What have you been doing here at home? Were you sleeping that the gruel is not ready?' Next day, Pine-twister remained at home. It was the same with him as with the two other men. The little man ate the gruel on him. At last, Iron-kneader remained at home. The little man ate the gruel from the top of his belly, too.

White Mare's Son spoke, 'I see, you don't know how to cook gruel. Well, I'll cook you gruel, goddam you (lit., per deum vestrae matris)! I'll show you that all four of us will eat of that gruel.' White Mare's Son stayed at home. He cooked the gruel, he cooked it, it was already almost ready. Suddenly the little man shouted from the tree, 'Will you give me of this gruel?' 'I'll give you, but come down!' He climbed off, wanted to dash White Mare's Son to the earth but White Mare's Son was a strong man, he grabbed him, lifted him by his beard, took him to a big tree, broke a bough down to the half, pinched his beard into it. There hung the little man. The gruel was ready, the others returned home and saw that the gruel was ready, it was cooked. They cast glances at each other, they have already learnt from each other how they did fare, that the little man ate the gruel on them. 'He did not eat the gruel on him, maybe he killed him.' When the hunters finished eating, White Mare's Son told hem, 'This little man ate the gruel on you? Shame on you! Come, I'll show you where he is, where I have put him.' They went there, neither the tree was there nor the little man. He pulled the big tree out by his beard. The little man walked away with the tree.

They saw from the track of blood where he was going. They followed the bloodtrack ; where did the blood lead, to a big hole. A big stone was on the hole. The five of them were unable to move it from there. Cliff-breaker set to it, broke a good piece off. Thus, they could remove it though with great difficulty. They looked down, a great depth was there. They talked it over who will be the first to descend. Cliff-breaker was the weakest of them. 'I'll descend.' 'Yes, but by what shall we let you go down?' Then Pine-twister spoke, 'I'll twist a basket of trees, and a rope'. He twisted them at once, both the basket and the rope. He told them, 'When you let me down and I pull the rope, then draw me up again for then I shall feel scared down there'. He sat into the basket. Scarcely had they let him down a bit, when he began to yell, 'Pull me up, the snakes will eat me! So many snakes are here'. Then they pulled him up. The other one, Hill-roller, descended. He also got frightened and shouted, 'Pull me up or the frogs will eat me!' Iron-kneader descended, he too got frightened. They pulled him up, too. Thus, it was White Mare's Son's turn. But he said to them, 'Listen to me! Now I will sit into the basket. If I pull the rope, don't draw me up. Let me down. And wait for me seven years, seven month, seven weeks, seven days, seven hours, seven minutes. If I don't return by then and don't pull the rope, then you can suppose that I have died. But till then, wait for me here.' Then he shook hands with them, they did everything that was needed and let him down. He also pulled the rope for he too was afraid, yet they let him down. They let him down, he arrived in the subterranean world. There in the nether world he caught sight of a little house. He entered, just there was the little man, there he was sitting by the fire and smeared his beard with drugs. White Mare's Son sprang to him, caught hold of him by the beard, pressed him in the stove and burnt him.

'But since I am down here', he said, 'I'll look around what there is here'. He went to and fro, saw a copper palace. In the copper palace there was a beautiful girl looking out of the window. She was very nice, the boy liked her. 'Well', he said, 'I'll marry her'. He went up to the girl. The palace was whirling. The boy sprang to it, seized its corner and stopped it at once. He went to the girl, kissed her. The girl said, 'How did you get here where even birds cannot fly for their wings would burn down? Leave here, my husband is a dragon with seven heads, he will return home in an instant and kill you'. 'I don't mind if he has twelve heads, I'll take you from him even then. Whose daughter are you?' 'I'm the daughter of the King of West.' 'When will your husband arrive home?' 'Now he is out hunting but he'll soon return home. Hide somewhere because when he returns, he cuts you up.' 'I won't hide.' Scarcely did he utter these words, his mace flew home from faraway. 'There is a stranger in my house. I will roast him and eat him at once.' The dragon arrived home, he said, 'Wife, give up that foreigner so that I could roast him and eat him'. 'You don't need to eat me or to roast me, here I am in front of

you.' The dragon opened his eyes wide seeing that such a little man stands before him. They shook hands. White Mare's Son pressed the dragon's hand so hard that blood flowed of his hand. 'I see, you are a strong man. Let me eat and drink first, then we'll go to the copper field, there we shall measure our strength.' They ate their fill, then they went to the copper field. They fought, White Mare's Son dashed him to earth so that six of his heads cracked. He could not do away with the seventh head. He took out his knife and cut the head off with it. Thus, the dragon died. He went to the girl. 'Well', he said, 'you are free now, you may return to your father'. 'I would go but three sisters of mine are here. We must set them free as well.' The boy walked on . . .

(He rescues the three sisters in the silver, golden and diamond palace in a similar way.)

This girl was also freed. The boy struck at each palace with a stick, all of them became apples. The boy put each apple into his pocket. They arrived at the hole. First they pulled up the copper girl. Up there, the big men began to shout, they started a fight: 'She is mine, she is mine!' But to whom will she belong? She became the wife of Cliff-breaker. After it, they pulled up the silver girl. 'She is mine, she is mine!' She became Hill-roller's wife. They pulled up the golden girl. She became Pine-twister's wife. Only the diamond girl was below. White Mare's Son told her, 'Listen to me! Maybe they won't pull me up for I have given out all girls. Wait for me up there seven years, seven month, seven weeks, seven hours, seven minutes. If I won't get out from here by that time, you may marry.'

And so it happened. They pulled up the diamond girl, she became Iron-kneader's wife. White Mare's Son talked to himself, 'If I sit into the basket, they will pull me up half way, from the half way they will let me fall back. I'll perish here. I'll put my friends to the test.' Therewith he put a big stone into the basket and stepped aside. They pulled it upwards and half way they let the basket fall back. 'Well', he says, 'if I had sat into it, I would have perished'. He stepped aside from the hole. Up there, they thought that he had been in the basket and died.

He walked to and fro, he happened to come unto a big hill. On that hill there was a big bird's-nest. In the nest there were young birds. A big rain came, hail-stones fell as large as my fist. What could the boy do, he took his coat off and spread it over the nest so that the young birds should not die. The rain stopped, just that moment the old bird arrived home. The boy hid under a big tree. The old bird asked the young birds, 'Tell me, who saved your lives?' 'Here he is, he has hidden, he is afraid of you. This handsome lad saved our lives.' The boy came forward from beneath the tree at once. He said, 'I saved them, they would have stifled from the great rain'. The bird said, 'Since you have done good to my children, what do you wish for an award?' 'I want you to do nothing but take me up to the other world.' The bird said,

'I have just arrived from there, now I cannot take you up. No strength is left in me any more. I can take you up only if you get me seven cows, seven loaves of bread, seven barrels of wine. You will put them on my back. When I turn my head to the right, pour a barrel of wine in my mouth, when I turn my head to the left, put a loaf of bread in my mouth, when I lift my head, throw a cow in my mouth.'

The boy managed to get the food together and loaded it on the bird. The bird was flying upwards with him, turned its head hither, a barrel of wine, turned its head thither, a loaf of bread, upwards, a cow. They flew almost up there, the bird lifted his head but there was no more meat. What could the boy do, he took his knife, cut a piece of flesh off his thigh and threw it in the mouth of the bird. Thus it could fly up with him. When the boy got off the bird, he was lame. 'What has happened to you, master?' 'Nothing, only my foot aches, it has gone asleep.' 'It isn't asleep', said the bird, 'it is bleeding. Take off your trousers, I'll see what the matter is with you'. Willy-nilly, the boy had to take off his trousers. The bird saw that a big piece of flesh was missing from his leg. The bird at once spat his flesh back to the same spot. 'If I had known that you have such a tasty flesh, I would have eaten you down there. But since we are up here, go where you wish.'

But I forgot to tell that the girls gave him three nuts down there. And they gave him a last and a needle. While the boy was down there, he was dressed in royal garment. While he was wandering up there, he met a swine-herd. He said to the swine-herd, 'My friend, give me your clothes and I will give you mine'. The swine-herd felt ashamed, 'How could you give me your fine clothes?' The boy said, 'Get undressed, I'll give you mine'. He undressed, the boy put it on, he put on the bad clothes of the swine-herd. Then the boy went to the big town. The girls were in this town. They became queens because the fathers of the girls were kings. The boy started working for a tailor. He was employed only as a help.

The wife of Iron-kneader, the Diamond Princess, always said that she wouldn't get married until such and such a garment is made for her, until she has one like the sky by day, also clouds should drift on it. No scissors should cut it, no needles should sew it. The king instantly proclaimed that it must be made cost what it may but nobody was able to sew that garment. The boy asked his master to allow him to sew it. He allowed him to sew it. He took the first nut, broke it open, there was the cloth in it. The boy spoke at once to the needle and to the scissors, the garment was ready in an instant. They carried the clothes to the princess. 'Now I see already that my dear husband is alive only I don't know where he is.' But Iron-kneader spoke, 'Now you should marry me' . . .

(A second garment with all the stars and a third one with the Sun on it are requested.)

'I won't marry you until you bring here the man who has sewn these garments.' Everybody was ashamed: such a dirty man like the one who made the clothes cannot go there. Nonetheless they had to take him there. They led him before her. The girl recognized him at once though he was dirty. She embraced him, they kissed each other. 'You are my husband, you have saved me from the dragon.' Then he undressed and put on a royal garment. Then the others also recognized who he was, that he was their friend. Then they got frightened of him. He punished all four of them because they had left him there in the deep hole. He made one of them a goose-herd for one year, the other a wine-herd for one year, the third a cow-herd. Thus, he punished each of them for one year. He himself married the Diamond Girl. To Iron-kneader, no wife was left.

They celebrated a great wedding. I also went there for I had heard that there was a great wedding. I went there. Great poverty was at home, I had twelve children. I took a big sack. I went there for I knew both the girl and the boy. 'So you came, didn't you?', they asked. 'I did.' 'Hold the sack out to me!' I held the big sack, they poured a potful of soup into it. After they poured the soup, they poured a big pot of meat with cream and in addition stewed meat. And they handed also a big bone to me. I tied the sack up and put it on my shoulders. I started for home. It is very muddy round here. Also the *gaje* were poor. A *gajo* is bound for home, he asks me, 'What do you carry, Johnny? Give me some of it!' 'I won't give you! I have twelve sons in my house, all of them are hungry.' 'Give me!' 'I won't.' What did the *gajo* do, he took the knife out of his pocket, ripped the sack open, the lot of soup flowed out. I got angry seeing that the dogs devour plenty of the food. What did I do, the big bone was in my hand, I grasped it and hit the leg of the *gajo* so that his leg broke. The *gajo* went home with broken leg.⁵

⁵ The collecting of the Vend Gypsy material and the recording of Berki's tales was carried out with the help of Gábor Grabócz.

THE PROBLEM OF THE MERGER OF MIDDLE ENGLISH /a:/ AND /ai/ IN NORTHERN ENGLISH

VERONIKA KNIEZSA

1. The study of the history of the English language was always centred on the description of the standard variety of each of the periods in question: in Old English it was West Saxon, from the Middle English period onward the development of the London dialect. Those regional varieties which did not contribute, or only incidentally, to the formation of the standard language were neglected, or, when treated for the sake of a complete description of a linguistic period, were explained in 'negative formulae', i.e. only those features were pointed out in which they differed from the most important variety. In this way the northern dialects of the English language were always in a disadvantageous position, not receiving any thorough analysis. Usually remarks made on this variety are no more than meagre definitions or over-generalizations which are quoted from one author to the other over a century, without being checked; and some of the more correct observations have been overlooked for the sake of less accurate but more attractive theories. One of the myths which keeps reappearing in connection with the phonological development of Northern English is the merger of the Middle English *i*-diphthongs with the corresponding long vowels, a supposed development, which, according to scholars, led to the employment of the use of <i> in digraphs as a marker of vowel length.

2. The initiator of this myth was James Murray (1873). His undoubted merit, however, is that he was the first to try to follow up the development of Scots from Old English Northumbrian through early Northern English into Middle English. Due to some spelling innovation in early Scottish texts (<ei> for /ē/, <ai> for /ā/, later <oi> and <ui> for /ō/, and /ō/ > [ü]) he formulated the rule that the Middle English diphthongs /ei, ai, oi, ui/ were monophthongized and thus fell together with their long monophthong counterparts *ā, ē, ō, ū*. He added that no /a:—/ai/ merger took place in his native Southern Scottish dialect. Murray's statement, even if hasty and questionable, was useful as it directed the interest of scholars to Northern English and helped develop a number of methods, spelling and rhyme analyses among others, to reconstruct

the possible pronunciation of mediaeval literary texts (cf. Kniezsa 1981). The discussion which followed the publication of Murray's book had the important result that it eliminated the possibility of the monophthongization of Middle English /ei, oi, ui/ (on the question of the origin of <ei> cf. Kniezsa 1981b).

Murray's other much quoted remark, that Early Scots of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was practically identical with contemporary Northern English, led scholars to discuss the question of a possible merger of Northern Middle English /a :/ and /ai/ in their studies.

2.1. The first comprehensive Middle English phonology was written by L. Morsbach (1896). He quotes Murray on Scots and adds that there is evidence for the merger of ME /a :/ and /ai/ in Northern English as well. He adds, however, that there is no rhyme evidence for the merger, or, if there is, only in the northernmost part of the country, as had been pointed out by Brandl on Thomas of Erceuldoun. Morsbach unfortunately did not quote any examples. K. Luick (1914) adds that the merger took place about the second half of the fourteenth century. He is of the opinion that it is a characteristically South Yorkshire phenomenon and expresses his doubts about a merger of this kind having occurred farther north (Luick 1914, 484). Both Morsbach and Luick stress the transitory character of the South Yorkshire sound developments, especially in connection with the Northern retention of OE *ā* as an unrounded low vowel. According to Morsbach (1896, 183) spelling evidence points towards a northward shift of the ME *ā/ō* isophone. This seems to be the first attempt to divide the Northern region into smaller linguistic areas. Morsbach and Luick consider rhymes important as a device to reconstruct ME pronunciation. Luick points out that the rhyme-type *grace* — *-ness* in fifteenth century Scottish poetry deserves a more thorough consideration as it might represent an early fronting and raising of ME /a :/ to a mid-position in the extreme North (Luick 1914, 582). Later scholars of Middle English, Jordan (1925), Emerson (1923), Mossé (1948, 1957), usually quote Luick on this problem. Jordan however, rejects the possibility of the northern raising of ME /a :/ to /ε :/ or /e :/ on the evidence of Luick's rhymes: he finds the instances of rhymes with /a :/ with *-ness* and *-less* to restrictive, occurring only before /s/.

The idea of the Northern Merger became so much part of the discipline that authors declining it do not seem to have been referred to, or, if they seem to be hesitant about its existence on the basis of textual evidence, they are quoted as if they affirmed it. Dobson (1968, 778) for example concludes from Luick's remark on the early raising Northern /a :/ that it was accompanied by an equally early merger of the long vowel with the monophthongized ME /ai/ in that area. Crook (in Jordan-Crook 1974, 136) quotes McLaughlin as

finding evidence of the coalescence of ME /a:/ and /ai/ in MS Cotton Nero X, whereas what McLaughlin observes (1963, 83) is that the spelling evidence of the coalescence of the two sounds in the scribes' dialect is not strong.

2.2. The description of the history of the phonology of the Northern region fares even worse where the analysis of the development in the Modern English period is concerned. The authors, almost without exception, attempt the description of Standard English pronunciation. The interest has its tradition in the works of sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth century phoneticians, orthoepists, pronouncing dictionaries etc, who wanted to teach their fellow countrymen and foreigners the educated variety of the English language as spoken in London, and tried to break the "barbarous" regional speech habits; thus northernisms might even be described in these works as variants to be avoided. Consequently what they described as the pronunciation of their time is either the actual forms of educated London speakers, or a form the phoneticians thought to be the refined, and consequently the desirable, way of pronouncing. Even authors who came from other dialectal regions would describe rather the London Standard and we cannot regard their descriptions as evidence on their native dialect, as some of the twentieth century authors so often suggest. One must not forget that the Northern variety of English especially was one with the lowest prestige, as can be understood from John of Trevisa's account from the fourteenth century, and that since Chaucer the imitation of Northern speech has been a form of language caricature.

These facts mean that there are no reliable contemporary data on the early state of Modern Northern English, as there are for the Southern Standard pronunciation, to enable the reconstruction of the phonological/phonetic development in the North. (There is an attempt at such a reconstruction in an Edinburgh Ph. D. thesis by P. J. Johnston 1980.) Rhymes, in contrast to Middle English, do not offer reliable help any longer, partly due to the literary influence of southern poetry, partly because by this time we have to count with the possibility of the use of "traditional" rhymes which are not based on the actual pronunciation of the period and region. Spelling, too, tends to be regularized through printed books and the traditions introduced by state scriptoria. The language study of private letters, diaries, etc, especially those written by women and persons not receiving formal education, and thus not trained in standard spelling traditions, might give some information on the actual pronunciation through their occasional variant spellings.

With the important time-link in the sound-development of Northern English in the early Modern period missing, we were compelled to turn to the actual, present-day phonological state of the northern counties. The analysis was based on three dialect surveys, all of them carried out on histor-

ical principles, which enabled us to attempt a reconstruction of the development of Middle English /a :/ and /ai/ and help to answer the question of whether there really was a merger of the two sounds in the North during the Middle English period. The supposition is that, if there was a merger, the present developments of the two vowels would be expected to be the same with possible variations due to combinative sound changes, but that, if the present developments show a fairly uniform pattern characteristic of either ME /a :/ or /ai/, the merger did not take place as a rule, only as a possible combinative change.

2.3. Middle English dialect maps show the Northern area as a linguistically uniform region (cf. Moore-Meech-Whitehall 1935) in sharp contrast to the Midland area. On a more detailed survey of Northern Middle English, the data do not lend themselves to the mapping out of a detailed geographical presentation of the distribution (personal information given by Professor Angus McIntosh). Ellis (1893) first attempted a definition of smaller dialectal areas in his dialect survey (vol. V., 494-680). He started out from the settlement history of the region and divided it into three larger sections: West Northern (D 30), the original Northumbria of Old English times, East Northern (D 31), a Celtic area in the OE period where the English language was introduced somewhat later, and North Northern (D 32), the northern part of Northumberland and Cumberland, part of the historical Border District. Though Ellis remarks that both D 30 and D 31 are fairly uniform in pronunciation, he found minor features by which smaller subdivisions could be established — ten in D 30, four in D 31, and three in D 32. Though Ellis is often criticized for his practice of being content with few informants, not enough localities etc, scholars prefer to resort to his work for information on dialect forms, because his presentation of the material is neat, the same text used throughout the different dialect areas offers a clear-cut basis for comparison even if the examples offered in this way are fairly meagre, and the map accompanying the volume helps to establish geographical distribution.

Joseph Wright's *Dialect Grammar* (1905) contains much more information, and a great number of key words are examined, but his painstaking care to list every possible variety of pronunciation of each of the key words, without the visual aid of a map, makes his book difficult to use.

For the most recent dialect forms the published material of the Leeds Survey of English Dialects is the source. There are two atlases based on this material. One is E. Kolb's *Phonological Atlas of the Northern Region* (1966), the other the "official" *Linguistic Atlas of England* (1978, LAE). Kolb's atlas covers almost the same material, there are hardly any new words in it, and his presentation makes generalizations on the distribution of the northern dialect forms difficult. The LAE presentation by isophones, even if the border

lines might not always be minutely exact, is visually much clearer and lends itself more satisfactorily to a comparative study of the phonological/phonetic variants of the northern dialects.

We based our investigation of the development of ME /a: / and /ai / on the various maps of LAE. The phonological/phonetic variants of the present-day dialects made it necessary to make some slight alterations to Ellis's basic division. For the purposes of the discussion of the alleged merger of ME /a: / and /ai / a too fine detailing was, however, not necessary. We divided both Ellis's D 30 and D 31 into two sections each, into a southern and northern section and worked with a pattern of

North Northern

West Mid Northern	East Mid Northern
West South Northern	East South Northern

3. The development of Me /a: / and /ai / in the northern dialects.

3.1. ME /a: / originates from OE *a*, ON, OF *a* when lengthened in open syllable: *name, take, case*; OE, OF *a* before certain consonant clusters: *waist, table*; OF *au* before a labial consonant or [dʒ]: *chafe, sage* (Ekwall 1956, 24); OE *ā* in the North: *raid* (Jordan 1974, 236).

The early Middle English long vowel is described as a low, front unrounded vowel which was probably produced more front than back, either as [a:] or [a:]. The suggested development during the Middle English and Early Modern English period is that it was further fronted and later raised: [æ] > [ɛ] > [e:] (Dobson 1968, 594). The [e:] stage is described as the final one in the raising process, the next step being diphthongization in most of the dialects: in the South, thus in Standard English, to [ei], in the North through a falling diphthong [jɛ] thus in East Mid Northern, to [əi], in North Northern. West Mid Northern [ea] is a further development from [e:]. West South Northern preserved the sound in the [e:] stage, while in East South Northern ɿt was diphthongized to [ɛə].

Realizations:

	əi
ea	jɛ
e:	ɛə

3.2. ME /ai / originates from OE *æg*: *day, clay*; *ēg*: *way, hay*; ON *ei*: *they*; OF *ai, ei*: *pay, obey* (Ekwall 1956, 26).

Most scholars (Luick, Zachrisson, Dobson) describe the development of ME /ai / as similar to that of /a: / in most respects: the first element was a low front vowel which might have been influenced by the glide, hence the

consonant development toward palatalization and raising : /ai/ > /aei/ > /ɛi/ then the front vowels coalesced in a long front mid vowel [ɛ:]. This is the level when according to the authorities the merger of ME /a:/ and /ai/ took place in all the English dialects, in the North earlier than in the South (Dobson 1968, 766-767), and the two vowels are supposed to have developed together to /e:/ (cf. 3.1. above). The present day northern forms show a different stage of development in North and Mid Northern. ME /ai/ reached the stage of /e:/ at a later period than ME /a:/, probably about the same time as the development was completed in the South. In South Northern the sound development is similar to that in South, the vowels coalesced at the stage suggested by Dobson, and reached the /e:/ level together; in the West it remained a long monophthong; and in the East it was diphthongized to [eə].

Realizations :

	e :
ɛ :	eə
e :	eə

3.3. The modern dialectal development of the long front vowels is the following in the present day Northern English dialects: (for the sake of simplification we sum up North and Mid Northern under the heading of North).

ME	North Northern	South Northern
/e:/	[i:]	[i:]
/ɛ:/	[i:]	[iə]
/a:/	[əi]	[e:] [eə]
/ai/	[e:] [ɛ:]	[e:] [eə]

(Where two forms are given, the left hand refers to west, the right hand one to east.)

The Northern developments seem to justify Luick's remark about an early raising of ME /a:/ which was based on the evidence of early Scots rhymes of the type *grace* : -*ness*. It means that even if the raising of /a:/ occurred first before /s/ as a combinative sound change, it must have become general enough by the fifteenth century in other positions as well, so that *grace* : -*ness* rhymes did not count any longer as extravagant innovations. The modern realization of ME /a:/ warns us that, when dealing with the development of this vowel, the discussion must be strictly separated from that of ME /ai/. The early raising of /a:/ was not combined with an earlier merger with /ai/ in that area as Dobson explained from Luick's remark. In the light of present day pronunciation fifteenth century *grace* : -*ness* rhymes mean rather that, in the northernmost region, the raising of /a:/ was at such an advanced stage in the fifteenth century that it had already left the position where it could

have been joined by the monophthongized /ai/. Dobson's worst fears — "Even though this involves the assumption that ME \bar{a} had already become [ɛ:] . . . it would follow of course that in these dialects ME \bar{e} had become [e:], ME \bar{i} [i:] and ME \bar{u} [u:] before 1450" (1968, 799) — seem to be confirmed. In the northern parts /a:/ and /ai/ were kept apart as two discrete phonemes. In South Northern ME \bar{e} was not raised and merged with ME \bar{e} as in the rest of the dialects but was preserved as an independent phoneme. In this way ME /a:/ was not involved in the pull-chain process and its palatalization and raising went parallel with the raising and monophthongization of ME /ai/, a development this area shares with the southern part of England. The merger of the two sounds under discussion is therefore a special Southern phenomenon. The East and West South Northern dialect area on the other hand shows its affinity to the other Northern regions by the fact that instead of an /ei/ diphthongization, common in the South, it preserved the long monophthong stage in the West, and developed into a centring diphthong in the East.

There are, however, examples of mergers of ME /a:/ and /ai/ in the dialects of the northern regions as well, but these do not appear systematically, being restricted to individual words and varying from place to place. Even the direction of the merger might differ: in some areas the result coincides with the general development of ME /a:/, in others with that of ME /ai/. If examined more closely a loose pattern can be noticed: most of the instances of vowel coalescence occur in word-final position, or before nasals, liquids or certain fricatives. If we want to give an oversimplified geographical pattern, we might explain that ME /ai/ > /a:/ merger occurs before nasals and /l/ (*tail*, *drain*) mostly in the East Mid and North Northern area, whereas ME /a:/ > /ai/ occurs more often in West Mid Northern in words like *grave*, *hames* etc. It is interesting to note that *bacon*, a French word first dated in 1330 in OED, shows the realization of ME /ai/ in a great part of the region, and *potatoes*, a late borrowing has this realization throughout the North (Kolb 1966).

4. The evidence for the North English merger referred to by authors since Murray is the appearance of <ai> spellings with the sound value of /a:/ in manuscripts. Most scholars date it to the first half of the fifteenth century (hence the presumption that the sound change must have taken place in the second half of the fourteenth century). Huchon (1930) however warns that, even if very few in number, <ai> spellings are already to be found in the earliest manuscripts of the *Cursor Mundi*, i.e. in the mid fourteenth century. We have found examples of <ai> with the sound value of /a:/ in *Sir Tristrem*, also a manuscript from the middle of the fourteenth century. Both *Cursor Mundi* and *Sir Tristrem* are localized as North Northern or Southern Scottish texts, thus they were written in a dialect in which the merger of ME /a:/ and /ai/ did not take place. Moreover both of the manuscripts were copied at too

early a time for the supposed sound change to have taken place. The evidence for a merger would be the presence of inverted spellings, in this case <a> spellings with the sound value of /ai/, which are not present in the texts. In any case the manuscripts were copied at a very early period even for those instances when and where the merger actually occurred as a general development or as an occasional combinative sound change. Our supposition is, therefore, that the employment of <ai> to mark the length of the low front unrounded vowel was introduced into the Northern spelling system from outside sources and it has nothing to do with northern English sound changes. If indeed real sound developments are behind the <ai> as a marker of a long vowel, they must be looked for in other language, in Anglo-Norman, as there is evidence for a monophthongization of OF /ai/ in Anglo-Norman about the time of the Conquest; and in general, Anglo-Norman spelling traditions, however mixed in origin and execution, had a great influence on the development of the English spelling system.

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PICTURE DESCRIPTION OF BILINGUAL CHILDREN AT PRESCHOOL AGE

A. JAROVINSKIJ

In order to be able to interpret a presented picture coherently, the child should recognise the objects, phenomena, and actors as well as explore the relations interconnecting them. The emergence of an adequate inner representation is influenced, among others, by the construction and complexity of the picture exposed (Brown 1975; Baumeister and Smith 1979) as well as by the knowledge or experiences of the child, including the acquisition level of story schemata in the sense of Poulsen et al. (1979). As Kolers observes (1970), 'frequently, we do not know what we see until we learn what to look at'. As early as in 1939, Rubinstein emphasised that the level of interpretation of pictures is decisively affected by the type of questions used to check the interpretation of the child. Several researchers (Bernstein 1975; Pap and Pléh 1974; Sugár-Kádár 1979) have pointed out that socialisation conditions of the child may exert influences on the level of verbally recording visual experiences.

According to Vygotsky (1960), the ability to recode visual experiences into a verbal medium is a function of developmental levels, characterising the whole psychical structure of a child, which involves perception, thought, memory, and speech.

Ervin-Tripp (1964) concluded from a socio-linguistic research project that in a task of verbally describing T.A.T. pictures, code shifts may have a determining effect on the contents of utterances produced by bilingual adults who acquired the respective languages in distinctive contexts (e.g. different geographical-linguistic areas).

The conditions under which a bilingual person gradually masters both of his/her languages have been paid special attention in literature concerned with bilingualism.

In 1925, Ščerba proposed to identify two 'poles' of the phenomenon which he termed 'pure' and 'mixed' bilingualism.

A 'pure' type of bilingualism occurs when a person is exposed to various language systems in respective delimited, "independent" situations. A switch from one language to the other rarely if ever occurs. In such settings the two languages will tend to coexist in the consciousness of the speaker as isolated,

autonomous systems. No connections between the two language systems will have been established and therefore, translations will be unmanageable or greatly impeded.

In the case of a 'mixed' type of bilingualism, linguistic signs pertaining to one of the languages are in some or another way directly connected with the respective signs of the other language system in the consciousness of the bilingual person. There is a unified structure of linguistic thinking which serves as a basis for performance in either language. Consequently, it can be assumed that each concept is related to two expressions. Translation, even in an immediate way (e.g. interpreting) will be greatly facilitated. Of course, adequate practice is a condition for this to take place.

'Mixed' bilingualism usually evolves in "mixed" communities (primarily, families) in which two or more languages are continually spoken.

Ervin and Osgood (1965) proposed a theoretical model of bilingualism. In this theory, the most influential factors are constituted by the conditions under which acquisition of the languages take place. Again, two types of bilingualism are distinguished:

- (i) the compound type (corresponding to the 'mixed' type in Ščerba's classification);
- (ii) the coordinate type (roughly identical with the one termed 'pure' by Ščerba).

When a compound type of bilingualism is diagnosed, "equivalent" words in the two languages have a common meaning. In the case of coordinate bilingualism each separate word (in word-pairs) has its own meaning and affective load.

In the wake of models used in contemporary cognitive psychology, the environmental conditions of acquiring two languages in bilingualism as well as interrelations between systems of perception and memory have become independent targets of investigation. In recent research concerning word memorisation and use the memory phenomena of bilinguals were treated in the frameworks of two opposing theories. Advocates of the first theory (e.g., Kolers 1963; Tulving and Colotla 1970) assume that each language is assigned, at least functionally, a separate memory store; these stores are independent of each other. This supposition is associated with the idea that representations of elements in reality are coded and stored jointly with linguistic elements by means of which the former constituents of reality have been perceived. This would imply that given something coded in one of the languages, it will not be accessible for direct naming in the other language. The latter task can only be accomplished by translation.

Authors proposing the second hypothesis (e.g., Lopez and Young 1974; Rose et al. 1975) assert that a common memory storage mechanism is operat-

ing for both languages. Objects or phenomena in reality are coded only once, viz. at the first perception. Perceptual traces will be stored in the joint storage system. The languages acquired by a bilingual person can be seen as a pair of different tools both fit for retrieving and verbalising or actualising percepts stored in the memory when it is necessary, without any difficulty or blocking.

A number of researchers (Penfield and Roberts 1959; Lenneberg 1967; Hepworth 1974; Krashen 1975; Alxazišvili 1977) mention that in a "critical period" in the life of the individual (from about two years to about ten years of age) a second language can be acquired easily as interactions and interferences between the two languages at all levels of speech are minimal. The genesis of bilingualism has proved to be an important psychological problem in itself. That is why the critical period has been subdivided. In Haugen's (1972) terms, the use of the two languages learned simultaneously in early childhood is 'early bilingualism' while the acquisition of a second language after the fourth year is, 'late bilingualism'. It is a well-documented fact (Ronjat 1913; Vygotsky 1935) that an individual may master two languages to an equal degree if initiated at an appropriate age and in favourably organised settings. The temporal parallelism does not, of course, bring about identical levels of linguistic or communicative competence on every occasion. One of the languages may become dominant.

This study is devoted to the investigation of bilingual competence in Hungarian-Russian bilingual children of preschool age, at levels of word usage and syntax, and to a grammatical error analysis by means of a picture description task.

The assessments constitute an integral part of a more complex design covering several aspects of communicative competence in Hungarian-Russian bilingual children at preschool age levels.

Subjects

The experiment involved 18 Hungarian-Russian bilingual children (10 females, 8 males) attending a Hungarian nursery school. They were brought up in 15 intellectually mixed family background with Russian mothers and Hungarian fathers. The age of children varied from 3.5 to 6.11. The group A included nine children (average age: 4.2), while group B, the remaining nine (average age: 6.1).

Methods

Ten unconnected colour pictures, each displaying a children's play-environment, were presented to assess the use of both languages. The composition of postcard-sized was graded from simple ones to more complex ones.

Instructions were given as follows: 'Tell me everything you see on this picture, everything going on here, so tell me all about this picture'. Responses in both languages were taperecorded.

Experiments were carried out in a home setting, usually in weekends preserving a playful atmosphere. The descriptions were first elicited in Russian, and, after two or three weeks, in Hungarian. The two sessions were conducted by separate experimenters who spoke to the child exclusively in one of the languages involved.

Results

1. In the families involved in the study, all mothers were Russians and all fathers were Hungarians. Without exception, the parents had higher education degrees. All families were living in apartments not shared by grandparents, and had been in various districts of Budapest for an average duration of six years. In home situations, the families mostly used the Russian language. In situations external to family life (shopping, visiting relatives, etc.) the parent of Russian mothertongue also switched to Hungarian.

The selection of the language pattern in communication between parent and child is always evidenced to be situationally and topically determined.

2. Word usage and the extraction of picture contents Dominance coefficients were computed for all content words-token and for all non-repeated content word-type.

Table I
Dominant coefficients for "token" and "type" words

	DC token (range)	Average DC token	DC type (range)	Average DC type	\overline{DC}
Group A (N = 9, av. age 4.2)	+0.01 ÷ +0.30	+0.121	-0.09 ÷ +0.40	+0.190	+0.156
Group B (N = 9, av. age 6.1)	-0.09 ÷ +0.27	+0.059	-0.05 ÷ +0.26	+0.070	+0.066

$\overline{DC}_A > \overline{DC}_B$ ($t = 2.167$, $p < 0.05$)

+1-indicating a dominance of Hungarian words.

-1-a dominance of Russian words.

0 — the two expressive vocabularies are approximately identical.

Coefficients show that with respect to both token and type, Hungarian words dominate in both groups of children. The dominance is twice as strong with younger than with older children. At the same time, both groups included children with Russian dominance in responses or with a dominance coefficient approaching zero. For classifying children as balanced bilinguals a so-

called permissible interval has been defined. Its scores were $\pm 5\%$ from common average index $DC = 0$. According to this criterion, bilingual children were separated into a balanced group (6 children — 33.3%) and a group with Hungarian dominance (12 children — 66.7%).

As far as the reproduction of picture "contents" is concerned, no sharp differences between linguistic references elicited in the two languages, were detected in case of children with balanced bilingualism. In several other cases, however, words characterising one of the (linguistic) cultures appear in the response material of older children. E.g., Hungarian words for Christmas and Easter although in present-day Russian these concepts are not associated with official holidays registered in calendars; or peculiar Russian names in the Russian responses (*Maša, Tolja*). When using the dominant language, children insert more attributive phrases than in the non-dominant language. Sometimes, descriptions of the same picture showed discrepancies in perceiving contents when compared between versions in the two languages. There were some children in the younger group who rejected the picture description task as a few pictures when instructed in Russian.

3. Analysis of utterance types

Analysis of utterance types

Total number of utterances (including one-word labels):

	Group A (N = 9, av. age — 4.2)	Group B (N = 9, av. age — 6.1)
Hungarian (AH)	141 = 100 %	(BH) 173 = 100 %
Russian (AR)	102 = 100 %	(BR) 166 = 100 %

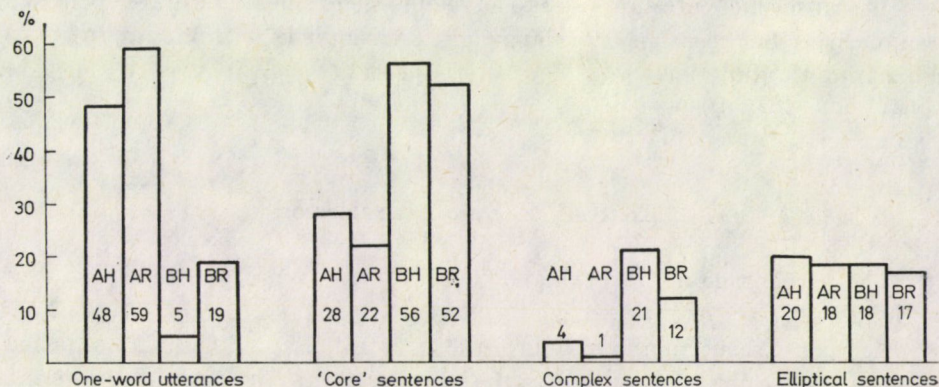


Fig. 1

One-word utterances include:

- labels
- two nouns conjoined
- deictic phrases

'Core' sentences include:

- simplest subject — predicate structures
- simple sentences with an additional NP argument
- subject or predicative with coordinated phrases in simple constructions

Values in Figure No. 1. show that in Group A 48% of responses in Hungarian and 59% of those in Russian consist of one-word utterances. According to the Mann-Whitney test this difference is not significant ($p > 0.10$). The 28% of Hungarian, and 22% of Russian responses were made up by 'core' sentences. The difference is significant ($p = 0.05$).

The children of Group B used significantly less one-word utterances and significantly more complex sentences in Hungarian than in Russian (in both cases $p = 0.05$). Regarding core sentences the difference between Hungarian and Russian was not significant ($p > 0.10$). Compared with groups A in both languages in groups B a shift in frequency towards using "core" and complex sentences in place of one-word utterances was detected. The shift was significant ($p = 0.01$).

The use of elliptical sentences was found to be an overall tendency in both groups and in both languages. The ratio of such structures approached, in both groups and languages, about 18% of all responses.

A specific form of elliptical responses, appearing in descriptions given in both languages, was the substitution of overtly referred-to grammatical subjects by a 'covert' (sometimes pronominal) subject easy to be inferred from the situation with the picture exposed. (The data concerning 'covert' subjects were computed on the basis of analysing the first sentence constituent in the first whole sentence given for each of the pictures.) The use of such 'picture-indicated' subjects showed a significant tendency of decrease among responses given in Russian compared with Hungarian only in Group B (from 23% in Hungarian to 10% in Russian, $p = 0.05$).

The differences are supposed to have emerged from structural-typological dissimilarities between the two languages. A sentence without a subject in such syntactic functions is a characteristic trait of Hungarian (Pléh and Radics 1978; Pléh 1980).

4. Analysis of grammatical errors

The percentage distributions of the two error types are shown in Figure No. 2.

As easily seen from the figure, the greatest part of the agrammatical sentences is produced in Russian. In the younger group, the ratio of agrammatical sentences is thrice as high in Russian than in Hungarian. In the older group, errors of this type are twice as frequent in Russian.

In group A, the entirety of errors in Hungarian language included 13% of identifiable interference errors and 80% of "good", overgeneralisation errors. The difference is significant $p < 0.01$. None of the Hungarian sentences recorded were formed according to Russian grammatical rules. In this group,

Analysis of grammatical errors

Total number of erroneous utterances (including one-word labels):

Group A (N = 9, av. age. 4.2)		Group B (N = 9, av. age. 6.1)	
Hungarian (AH) — 30 sentences (21 %) — 100 %	(BH) — 18 sentences (11 %) — 100 %		
Russian (AR) — 62 sentences (61 %) — 100 %	(BR) — 42 sentences (25 %) — 100 %		

The Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test

Group A

H dev. > H int., $p < 0.01$
 H dev. > R dev., $p = 0.05$
 R int. > R. dev., $p = 0.05$
 R int. > H. int., $p < 0.05$

Group B

H dev. > H int., $p < 0.01$
 H dev. > R. dev., $p > 0.05$, N. S.
 R dev. > R int., $p = 0.05$
 R int. > H int., $p = 0.05$

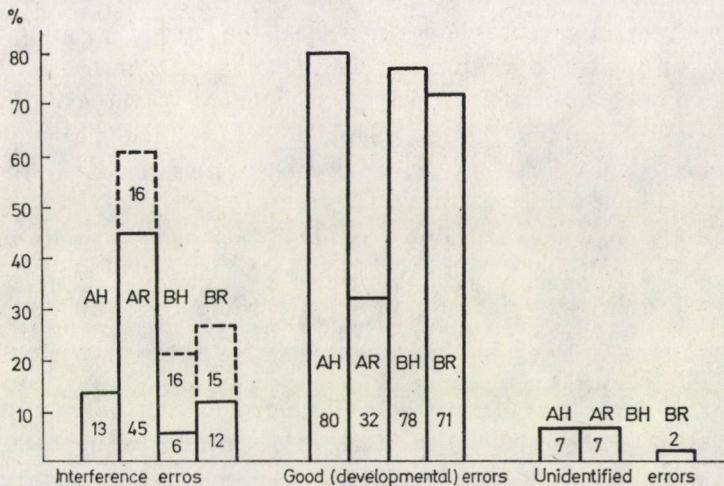


Fig. 2

Interference errors:

- lexical, morphological borrowing
- syntactical calque

61% of errors in Russian language use stemmed from the interfering effect of the language in the cultural environment. Within the interference category, sentences proved to be agrammatical in consequence of lexical, morphological borrowings in 45 per cent, and of Hungarian calques, in 16 per cent. Only 32% of the total number of errors could be explained by overgeneralisation,

natural in the acquisition process of the Russian language. This amounts merely to half of the quantity of interference errors. The ratio is significant $p = 0.05$.

In Group B, Hungarian responses included 22% interference errors and 78% good errors. The difference is significant $p < 0.01$. In the Hungarian speech of bilingual children, interference was manifested as lexical, morphological borrowings in 6%, and by Russian grammatical calques, in 16%. Among the Russian responses, 27% of the total quantity of errors could be identified as interference errors. Specifically 12% of the latter were associated with lexical, morphological borrowings, and 15% with a mistaken application of Russian grammatical models. The ratio of good errors committed in Russian was found to be, in this group, about thrice as high 71% as that of interference errors. ($p = 0.05$).

Discussion

The analysis of picture description, i.e., the verbal recoding of visual experiences, succeeded in confirming the existence of universal tendencies primarily stemming from the cognitive development of the child. The overcoming of one-word labels, that is, a shift from the "dialogical" description toward connected discourse was evidenced characteristically in the case of six-year-old children.

Similar phenomena were found earlier by researchers studying picture description in monolingual children (Rubinstein 1976, Poulsen et al. 1979, and others) as well as by investigations concerning the ability of bilingual children to retell linguistic material after auditory exposition (John-Steiner and Osterreich 1975).

In our case, the mastery of the two languages unavoidably affects the complexity of utterances. While the task of describing the picture, given in Russian, is rejected by the young children in several cases, no corresponding refusals are recorded when asked in Hungarian. As a further proof, one-word "sentences" are more frequently encountered in the Russian speech of subjects in Group B, than in their Hungarian material.

Connected discourse can only emerge after the child has successfully acquired a specified amount of lexis in the given language as well as the grammatical rules; as Lurija (1979) puts it, when the child already possesses 'operational components of coherent speech'.

The analysis of grammatical errors shed light also on the strategies by means of which grammatical rules are acquired in the two languages.

One error category can be directly related to the acquisition strategies, both in Hungarian and Russian. The errors assigned to this category have been called good or developmental errors as they are the outcome of rule

overgeneralisation processes in word formation. The majority of such errors appear at the morphological level, not unlike those observed in the speech of monolingual Hungarian (S. Meggyes 1971), or Russian (Gvozdev 1961) children. The coining of new words (neologisms) is also detected in both languages, especially in case of older children.

Another category of errors can be explained by transfer strategies. The items included in this category are interpreted as interference phenomena, in the form of borrowing either words or morphemes (word stems, markers).

In an earlier study (Jarovinskij 1979), the author attempted to give a detailed analysis of lexical — semantical interference. As it was stated, borrowings may most easily occur when two words in the two languages are similar in phonemic shape and have the same meaning. The Hungarian word *torta* 'fancy cake' can, for instance, be borrowed to Russian readily as the Russian equivalent is *tort*. The error of borrowing was found to be much more frequent in Russian with the younger children, while the margin was narrower with older ones.

Apart from lexical borrowing and lexical-semantical interference, the experimental material clearly indicated grammatical interferences. In the latter cases, grammatical models are transferred from one language to the other. A primary evidence for such transfers are mistaken translations sometimes termed 'calques'. The phenomenon is detected more frequently in Russian than in Hungarian. In the younger group, no items of calque from Russian to Hungarian are recorded at all. Linguistic calques tend to appear at junctures where codes are to be changed abruptly, i.e., when the child in the context of Russian investigation scheme seems to be forced by the visual experience to start describing it in Hungarian and suddenly "changes his mind", repeating the Hungarian utterance(s) in a word-by-word translation to Russian.

There is little doubt that the extent of interference is affected by structural dissimilarities between the two languages and by the type of bilingualism. According to Slobin (1973, 1977) the child will avoid the use of more complex grammatical rules if a grammatical difference obtains between the two languages; he will acquire the clearer, or subjectively easier, rule. This might be a reason why bilingual children rely on already mastered grammatical models and construct verbal utterances after the same scheme in both languages. In one language, the model conforms to linguistic norms, but in the other, it may bring about interference errors. In most cases, models of Hungarian grammar were found to interfere with Russian language use.

The interaction of the two languages is decisively influenced by particular types of bilingualism. We cannot but agree with statements by Jakobovits (1968), Macnamara (1970), or Imedadze (1979) to the effect that a categorization of bilinguals into 'compound' and 'coordinate' groups is a separation of purely theoretical nature. In the groups investigated, children were

evidenced to cover the whole continuum between polarly compound and coordinate bilingualism and none of them could be distinguished as an example of compound or coordinate bilingualism in a well-grounded way.

Bilingual competence is a dynamic phenomenon determined by a number of factors. Of utmost importance is the question of which age level and under what environmental circumstances the acquisition of the second language is started. Ranking after this, we might identify the direct and objective influences in the joint acquisition of the two languages as well as indirect and subjective, factors connected with the level of mastery in either of the languages (Jarovinskij 1981). Such factors are not similarly patterned in the two experimental groups. The majority (67%) of young children have had no direct experience in the use of Russian as they have had absolutely no opportunity to stay in a geographical area where Russian is spoken. Intra-familial patterns were again less favourable than in the older group. In Group A 67% of children were second or third eldest. Children second or third in birth order tended to take part in social interaction with the Russian speaking mother much less than first children. In families with more than one child a paradoxical situation may emerge; children choose to communicate with each other solely in the language in the cultural environment. In such a setting, Hungarian becomes a 'language of the children'. The dominance of types and tokens of words as well as data concerning interference tend to corroborate the hypothesis that younger children fall in and around the middle of the compound-coordinate range and almost 90% of younger children are characterised by a mixed type of bilingualism with a dominance of the Hungarian language. In the latter subjects, the language of the cultural context is not only growing dominant but serves as a support as well. The perception process of the child as well as concomitant categorisations take place within the system of the Hungarian language and are, at least partly, determined by the laws of that language. In such a way, Hungarian tends to organise and control the modes of thinking evolving in the child; he appears to see the world through a "prism" of Hungarian.

Older children are more advantaged in mastering the Russian language. They have had a much deeper experience in using the language as, with varying frequency and duration, 90% of them visited the Soviet Union. The structure of the family is again a factor providing more opportunity for social interaction in Russian. 78% of subjects of Group B were an only child or the first one. In this group, 56% of the children are found to display balanced or nearly balanced bilingualism with a tendency toward the 'coordinate' form.

The results obtained in this study show that "good" errors in the acquisition of both languages outnumber (at the age level of Group B) interference errors stemming from the mutual influence of the two languages on each other. The data coincide with conclusions from several studies about at the acquisi-

tion of morphology and other subsystems of grammar in bilingual children (Dulay and Burt 1974, 1978; Imedadze 1979).

More favourable direct and indirect conditions allowed older children to have a more diversified Russian linguistic input than the one younger children could have. It may be assumed that a mechanism is operating in the bilingual child to process the linguistic input heuristically and produce verbal utterance in both languages in a creative way.

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EQUIVALENCE EN MATIÈRE DE TRADUCTION

ÁGNES DÁNIEL

L'équivalence: autant de gens, autant de sens

1.1. Traduire implique, même dans la langue parlée, la notion de l'équivalence. Rien de plus évident que le produit de l'activité traductrice soit équivalent à l'objet de la traduction.

Toutefois, au moment où nous posons la question de savoir quels sont les critères des relations d'équivalence entre un texte original et sa traduction, nous butons sur une série de problèmes théoriques et pratiques.

Équivalence des éléments constitutifs de la chaîne parlée? Et de quels éléments de la chaîne parlée? Et équivalence de quel point de vue? De celui des oppositions paradigmatiques et des possibilités syntagmatiques de la langue de départ (LD) par rapport à la langue cible (LC)? Ou du point de vue de leur synonymie grammaticale et/ou de leur homologie lexico-sémantique?

Équivalence des unités de sens? Ou du texte tout entier? Mais à la base de quels attributs ou éléments de la partie ou du tout? A celle d'oppositions des phrases courtes contre les phrases longues ou du débit heurté contre des périodes balancées? A la base du nombre et de la fonction des conjonctions ou des explétifs? A celle du nombre relatif des substantifs, des adjectifs, des verbes ou des termes, comme l'explique E. Cary? Mais comment les recenser? Comment en établir la correspondance dans les textes en LD par rapport à ceux en LC? Ou bien, l'équivalence serait-elle une analogie des connecteurs ou des outils logiques en général, qu'ils soient d'ordre grammatical ou lexical, dépendant de l'acte de communication et correspondant à un niveau de langue précis, comme l'affirme Catford? Mais quels seront les termes de comparaison qui serviront de base à la définition de l'équivalence? Ou l'équivalence de la traduction reposerait-elle sur l'équivalence sémantique et/ou pragmatique de certaines classes privilégiées du discours, tels que désignatifs de quantité, articles, ad-verbos ou telles formes verbales, comme le prétendent certains linguistes du texte? Mais à la base de quelles caractéristiques l'équivalence de ces classes privilégiées pourra-t-elle être établie? Quel dénominateur commun les diverses langues auront-elles?

1.2. Le but premier de cette étude n'est pas de donner un autre sens à la notion d'équivalence en matière de traduction. Ce que nous nous proposons, c'est, surtout, de présenter l'application d'une argumentation qui se fonde sur la dialectique de l'invariable et du variable. Notre intention est d'exposer un raisonnement se prêtant au dépistage de l'équivalence actuelle du texte et/ou de l'une ou de plusieurs de ses portions.

Pourquoi élaborer une stratégie de la traduction?

2.1. L'émetteur formule son message afin que ce message soit intercepté par le destinataire: membre d'un groupe plus ou moins large, plus ou moins précisé de récepteurs, censés être partenaires dans l'acte de communication. Le point capital de cet acte de communication est donc le rapport s'établissant entre ses deux protagonistes: l'émetteur et le destinataire.

L'émetteur fait de son mieux pour prévoir le groupe des destinataires auxquels il adresse son message. En le formulant, il s'adapte à son partenaire pour atteindre le but qu'il s'est proposé: appel à l'identification avec le contenu du message ou simple prise de contact. Mais cette adaptation a forcément ses limites.

L'émetteur sélectionne les signes de son répertoire linguistique

— conformément à la valeur du message, c'est-à-dire en corrélation avec l'appartenance de son actualisation à un ensemble limité et/ou précisé d'autres genres, types, sortes de textes;

— conformément au plan du message, c'est-à-dire en corrélation avec sa structuration discursive et/ou expressive; facteurs, tous les deux, d'origine socio-culturelle et

— conformément à son idiolecte qui, bien qu'étant un ensemble des habitudes langagières individuelles de l'émetteur, est, lui aussi, déterminé par des composantes d'origine socio-culturelle.

L'émetteur *ajuste* ces signes

— en corrélation avec leur enchaînement prescrit par le système de la langue, réglé par ses normes et le bon usage.

La communication s'établira lorsque le destinataire prévu aura réussi à interpréter le sens des informations véhiculées par l'actualisation du message, c'est-à-dire lorsqu'il aura compris le contenu du texte.

Mais l'interprétation est empreinte d'autres informations encore: informations méta-textuelles que l'émetteur n'est pas toujours en état de prévoir, tout au moins dans leur complexité. Telles sont: la présentation du texte (format, illustrations, reliure, caractères typographiques etc.),

le lieu et le moment de la parution, les informations orales et/ou écrites circulant à propos du texte et/ou de son auteur et ainsi de suite. Tous ces facteurs complémentaires, mais non négligeables, sont susceptibles d'influencer le destinataire, d'éveiller son intérêt ou de l'indisposer.

2.2. Dans le cas d'une traduction, ce rapport se complique encore davantage, puisque

a) l'émetteur secondaire s'interpose entre l'émetteur en LD et le destinataire en LC, lorsqu'il fait subir au message un nouvel encodage;

b) le message retransmis par l'émetteur interposé doit être intercepté par un groupe de destinataires, pour la plupart des cas non prévu par l'émetteur. Celui-là n'a, par conséquent, adapté au préalable ni la valeur, ni le plan de son message à ces nouveaux destinataires. Par contre, la sélection et l'ajustement des signes du répertoire en LC dépendront des facultés cognitives et expressives du traducteur qui, cependant, doit se conformer non seulement à la valeur et au plan du message, mais doit aussi se plier à ses nouvelles finalités ainsi qu'à ses nouvelles marques méta-textuelles prévisibles/prévues.

L'émetteur interposé ne pourra suffire à ces obligations multiples qu'en connaissance

— de la différence entre la composition du groupe des destinataires en LD et celle des destinataires en LC;

— de la différence entre le but du message original et de ses particularités méta-textuelles et ceux du texte en LC;

— de la valeur et

— du plan du message.^a

C'est à la base de ces paramètres qu'il pourra élaborer une *t a c t i q u e* qui lui permettra la transmission adéquate du message, la composition d'un texte, équivalant à l'original.

3.3. A regarder ces paramètres de plus près, les deux premiers sont en rapport direct avec l'acte de communication et en rapport indirect seulement avec l'objet de la communication, tandis que les deux derniers sont en rapport direct avec le message, mais non avec son expression langagière, l'acte de communication ayant exercé une rétroaction sur l'émetteur lors du choix de la valeur et au cours de l'élaboration du plan du message.

Autrement dit, les deux premiers, vus sous l'angle de la traduction, sont variables, les deux derniers par contre, sont invariables.

a) Bien que la traduction exige la connaissance approfondie de deux langues et de domaines de savoir très variés, nous n'entrons pas dans les détails des facultés langagières en LD et LC requises pour mener à bien le transcodage du message: leur analyse dépasserait les bornes de cette étude.

Le traducteur aura pour tâche de concilier le variable avec l'invariable, de sorte que la version en LC du message en soit une variante authentique.

Dans les pages suivantes nous tenterons de trouver le fil conducteur propre à orienter cette recherche de la variante authentique.

Les pour et les contre à balancer

3.1. Prenons, pour commencer, un exemple banal. Un message quelconque ne peut être intercepté, vérité d'évidence, que si le destinataire en comprend la signification. Toute communication risque donc d'être brouillée au moment où le destinataire s'achoppe à des vides contextuels, à des signes dont il ne connaît pas le référent. Plus le texte contiendra de ces vides, plus la communication sera difficile à établir. Elle se soldera par un échec si, du point de vue du destinataire, la texture est dévorée de « trous », de hiatus de quelle origine qu'ils soient.

Comme c'est uniquement la communication interlinguistique qui nous intéresse ici, nous devons établir une distinction entre deux sortes de vides possibles: ceux de nature intralinguistique et ceux d'origine extralinguistique. Les premiers sont dûs à des incompatibilités de la sélection et/ou de l'ajustement des éléments du répertoire linguistique, les derniers par contre sont dûs à la non-correspondance absolue de la manière dont les divers groupes humains, forts de leurs expériences et traditions particulières, découpent la réalité extralinguistique.

3.2. Les vides intralinguistiques d'un texte peuvent découler soit

- du manque d'attention ou de contrôle de soi-même de l'émetteur, soit
- d'une confusion de personnes.

Nous parlons d'une confusion de personnes lorsque le message est intercepté non par le destinataire prévu et spécialiste du sujet du message, mais par un récepteur quelconque qui, lui, ne possède pas les connaissances et facultés requises pour le décodage du message en question.^b

Ce cas étant hors du domaine des opérations du traducteur, nous ne retiendrons que la première des deux causes, c'est-à-dire le vide dû à l'inadvertance de l'émetteur.

3.2.1. Si le traducteur détecte dans le texte en LD un vide contextuel dû au faux encodage, il aura, en principe, le choix entre deux possibilités:

b) Voilà la raison pour laquelle il est impensable que l'émetteur en LC ne soit pas l'un des destinataires en puissance du message. Un message mal interprété a toutes les chances d'être mal retransmis.

a) rédiger en LC un texte cohérent, et par ce procédé, désencombrer la communication des obstacles qui la gênent avec cependant le risque d'altérer le message (soit qu'effectivement le lapsus n'en ait pas été un, mais que le destinataire interposé n'ait pas réussi à décoder la portion en question du message, soit que le texte ait comporté un certain nombre de vides, structuration abusive il est vrai, mais éventuellement typique de l'émetteur et qui sera alors effacée par l'intervention arbitraire du traducteur);

b) retransmettre le lapsus en encodant dans le texte en LC un lapsus de la même valeur que celui du texte original, c'est-à-dire retransmettre le vide référentiel dans l'intention de reconstituer le message original avec toutes ses graines de beauté, avec néanmoins le risque de perturber le cours de la communication.^c

3.2.2. Si le texte à traduire contient des éléments signifiants le référent desquels est inexistant/inconnu dans l'univers linguistique régulier du destinataire, l'émetteur intermédiaire aura, au moment de l'encodage, le choix entre les possibilités typiques suivantes:

a) faire un calque, c'est-à-dire traduire littéralement l'expression originale sans commentaire aucun. Ce référent à valeur \emptyset peut, sous l'effet de l'irradiation sémantique du contexte, s'imprégner d'un sens plus ou moins précis. Si la mode s'en saisit, ce qui arrive maintes fois, l'acception peut se profiler pour, finalement, s'implanter dans le répertoire courant de la LC. Mais, si l'environnement n'est pas assez évocateur, le sens du calque restera confus ou impénétrable à quiconque ne réussit pas à le retranscrire en sa forme originelle;

b) garder l'expression originale dans la supposition que le destinataire connaît le référent en question ou que l'irradiation sémantique du contexte suffit à combler le vide survenu dans le cours de la communication. Le procédé peut contribuer à l'univocité des informations véhiculées si le destinataire en raison de son milieu culturel-professionnel est censé identifier le référent. Tout au contraire, il peut, dans les cadres d'un acte de communication différent, être inefficace ou source d'interprétations fausses ou équivoques, peut donc perturber l'interprétation du message, si le destinataire n'arrive pas à identifier le référent, en raison du milieu langagier, socio-culturel et/ou professionnel qui est le sien;

c) expliquer (interpréter) l'expression originale sans la reproduire ou la traduire littéralement, avec pour but de combler le vide contextuel. L'actualisation de ce procédé est très variable. L'explication

c) Nous ne parlerons pas des vides linguistiques-contextuels du texte dûs à la maladresse du traducteur. Ces bévues-là n'ont rien à voir au sujet de notre examen.

peut se ramener à un syntagme modeste, mais peut réclamer un commentaire volumineux, chargé d'informations auxiliaires. Le procédé comporte toutefois le risque de modifier jusqu'au plan du message au cas où le nombre des commentaires en altérerait la structuration originale;

d) substituer l'expression originale par une autre dont le référent s'apparente de quelque manière au référent de l'expression remplacée, avec le risque cependant, surtout si les commutations se font nombreuses, d'exclure de l'acte de communication l'univers linguistique/socio-culturel caractéristique de l'émetteur.

3.3. Cette énumération farcie de *si* et de *mais* est, sans aucun doute, inopérante dans la pratique quotidienne du traducteur. Il nous faut, par conséquent, mettre un peu d'ordre dans ce fouillis pour que les nœuds gordiens, entrelacements de restrictions et de conjectures, puissent être tranchés.

Pour ce faire, les paramètres énumérés plus haut, peuvent nous donner la clef de la stratégie à élaborer en vue d'une traduction authentique. Par stratégie nous entendons l'ensemble des opérations intellectuelles raisonnées que le traducteur devra exécuter au cours de son travail, les pour et les contre qu'il aura à peser, les possibilités qu'il lui faudra éliminer ou retenir, pour trouver, là et alors, les formes équivalentes de l'expression.

Il paraît évident que ce sont les deux composantes invariables du message qui devront être les points de repère de l'élaboration de cette stratégie.

La valeur est un attribut commun à un groupe limité et/ou précisé d'autres messages; le plan par contre témoigne toujours de l'unicité du message en question (bien qu'il y ait des traits typiques, communs à plusieurs messages du même émetteur et/ou de la même valeur).

Ainsi, il nous sera impossible de rester plus longtemps dans les généralités et, pour illustrer notre démarche, nous devons examiner un texte concret.

Comment faire pencher la balance?

IV.1. Le texte que nous allons disséquer ci-dessous est tiré de l'Histoire de la civilisation française de Georges Duby et Robert Mandrou. L'ouvrage est écrit, comme l'affirme l'Avant-propos de l'édition de 1972, « principalement à l'intention des lycéens en fin de scolarité secondaire, des étudiants débutants et des étrangers curieux de notre pays ». L'Histoire de la civilisation française « entend souligner les caractères originaux de notre très riche devenir et les ordonner selon les thèmes les plus largement explicatifs » (Collection Universitaire, p. 5.).

La valeur du texte en LD et le but de la communication nous sont ainsi présentés par les auteurs mêmes. La lecture du texte doit, tout en étant instructive, avoir de l'attrait pour fixer l'attention non seulement de ceux qui ont peut-être une obligation à connaître ce sujet, mais aussi de ceux qui s'y intéressent sans autre but pratique.

Pour fixer sa stratégie le traducteur doit préciser la finalité du texte en LC, donc le cadre du nouvel acte de communication. Certaines informations préalables, méta-textuelles lui indiqueront l'objectif de la publication. Il devra préciser la composition du groupe des destinataires en LC, savoir s'il a à traduire un manuel à l'usage d'étudiants (et étudiants en quoi?) ou bien un livre à l'usage de lecteurs non spécialistes; s'il doit mettre en relief le caractère didactique du message, sans pour autant prendre un ton pédantesque qui serait contraire aux intentions de l'émetteur premier; ou bien s'il doit souligner le caractère vivant et pittoresque du texte, s'il lui faut en faciliter sinon agrémente la lecture, sans le dépouiller de sa valeur scientifique.

Ces informations lui permettront, dès le début, d'éliminer quelques-unes des possibilités énumérées plus haut (cf. 3.2. 1-2.).

Vu le but de la communication, il est fort douteux que le traducteur tombe sur des vides de nature intralinguistique. Mais, vu le sujet du message, il se heurtera à toutes les difficultés que pose la transmission d'un texte riche en référents inconnus/inexistants dans l'univers linguistique régulier du destinataire secondaire. Aussi devra-t-il élaborer une stratégie en conformité avec les nouveaux cadres de la communication, stratégie qui corresponde en même temps à la valeur du texte et à l'aide de laquelle l'actualisation en LC puisse s'intégrer harmonieusement dans le plan du message.

Procédant par élimination, le traducteur devra éviter

- la fabrication de calques et
- la substitution pragmatique d'un référent par un autre.

En connaissance de l'acte de communication, le calque ne véhiculerait aucun sens précis, directement saisissable et la substitution fausserait l'arrière-plan extralinguistique du message, partant, l'objet même de la communication.

Le maintien dans le texte de l'expression originale peut être un procédé efficace mais à une condition seulement. Le traducteur doit être sûr que le destinataire est capable d'identifier le référent en question. La méthode serait opérante par exemple au cas où le texte en LC serait destiné à des étudiants en langue et civilisation française mais serait peu recommandable au cas où il serait édité à l'usage de destinataires sans spécification aucune, simples lecteurs, curieux de connaître la France.

Le texte en LD est truffé d'expressions dont le référent est typique des « caractères originaux du très riche devenir » français. Ce qui nous reste donc à élucider, c'est la stratégie que le traducteur doit adopter lorsque le texte en

LC s'adresse à un lecteur non professionnel, non initié, auquel les référents particuliers à la civilisation française sont vides de signification, faute d'expériences et traditions correspondantes.

Du point de vue théorique il est indifférent qu'il s'agisse d'un destinataire issu de la civilisation européenne dont nombreux éléments sont communs à quasi toute la population du continent ou qu'il s'agisse d'un destinataire qui ne connaît pratiquement rien de ce patrimoine, pour qui ces mêmes éléments sont inintelligibles.

Pour trancher la question, nous devons étudier le plan du message et préciser s'il se prête à l'intégration d'explications et de commentaires, parce que la structure du message est déjà garnie de remarques explicatives; nous devons déterminer le genre d'explications ou de commentaires assimilables à l'organisation discursive et/ou expressive du message, si elle exclut l'interpolation d'interprétations copieuses. De toutes façons, le traducteur doit ménager et la chèvre et le chou: il doit se faire comprendre par son lecteur sans altérer le plan du message.

Il est vrai que notre analyse ne porte que sur un seul passage d'un ouvrage de plus de 700 pages, nous considérons toutefois cette partie étant, sous l'aspect de notre étude, un échantillon représentatif. C'est, bien sûr, simplifier la question que de mettre un signe d'égalité entre la partie et le tout. Il est évident que le plan du message, c'est-à-dire d'un système structuré peut différer d'une de ses parties aux autres. Il est cependant impensable que le traducteur change de stratégie au cours de son travail, surtout lorsqu'il s'agit d'une question de fond, comme l'est l'interprétation de la réalité inconnue au nouveau destinataire.

4.2. Un moyen possible de l'exploration du plan consiste à examiner un certain nombre de rapports qui entrelacent les divers référents du message par l'intermédiaire des signes linguistiques du texte. Ainsi, nous pouvons étudier les relations à l'intérieur d'une structure superficielle et/ou entre différentes structures superficielles; les rappels référentiels explicites ou implicites; les rapports de cause à effet, les oppositions, les restrictions, etc. Notre analyse peut porter sur certaines valeurs de l'élément prédicatif par exemple; sur la prédication actuelle typique du message et/ou de ses parties et ainsi de suite.

L'exploration du plan est une méthode de l'analyse textuelle et peut être appliquée de manières très diverses, le plan du message n'étant rien d'autre que l'ensemble de ses différents aspects ou modèles possibles. Aussi, le message a-t-il autant de modèles potentiels que de rapports ou de valeurs examinés.

Cette opération intellectuelle peut être exécutée mentalement, sans support matériel aucun. Toutefois, les rapports et/ou valeurs que nous nous pro-

posons d'examiner peuvent être représentés par des procédés graphiques très divers, à commencer par une notation intercalée dans les interlignes du texte jusqu'à une schématisation faite uniquement de signes symboliques, assemblés à la base d'une notation préétablie et conformément à l'objectif actuel.

Les schémas, la notation, l'arrangement des symboles sont, bien entendu, déterminés à volonté. D'autant plus que le but de l'exploration n'est pas la représentation graphique de l'une ou de l'autre des facettes du plan mais la détermination aussi exacte que possible des rapports et/ou valeurs impliqués dans la contexture du message. La représentation graphique n'est rien d'autre qu'un auxiliaire de l'analyse. Elle perd automatiquement sa fonction, sa raison d'être, sitôt que la perspective sous laquelle elle présente la structuration du texte nous devient familière.

Il faut cependant souligner que l'exploration, bien qu'elle se veuille exacte, est malgré tout un examen qui repose sur la lecture individuelle du texte. Par conséquent, autant de lectures, autant de plans et autant de modèles du message. Mais comme les lectures individuelles du message permettent quand-même d'en établir une, plus ou moins généralisable à un moment donné, dans un certain milieu socio-culturel, les divers modèles du plan, mis au jour à la base des mêmes rapports et/ou valeurs, auront des traits caractéristiques semblables, supposé que ceux qui sondent le message définissent pareillement les diverses relations, les différentes valeurs.

Sous l'aspect de la traduction, l'essentiel est que le traducteur soit conséquent à sa propre interprétation et qu'il classe toujours de la même manière les rapports et/ou valeurs appartenant — de son avis — à la même catégorie. C'est en fin de compte ce qui lui permettra d'appliquer sa stratégie avec esprit de suite.

4.3. Mais revenons à notre sujet. Ce que nous voulons élucider, c'est la question de savoir si le plan du message se prête à l'interpolation d'explications interprétatives; si des arrêts du flux des informations sont compatibles ou non avec ce plan; si nous pouvons délimiter avec plus ou moins de précision les procédés permettant de combler les vides référentiels prévus du texte en LD, causés par les différences de la réalité extralinguistique, telles qu'elles se révèlent dans la LD et dans la LC.

4.3.1. Le modèle schématisé du fragment que nous étudions, représenté sur le tableau N° 1, nous donne une vue de sa composition à la base des *n o t i o n s m a î t r e s s e s* qui y sont traitées.

Comme nous n'avions pas l'intention de noter la valeur ou la fonction de toutes les relations décelables entre les éléments du texte, nous nous sommes bornés à spécifier les rapports déictiques explicites (marqués \square), pour montrer l'économie de la composition. L'émetteur se sert de simples

rappels par le truchement d'outils grammaticaux, renforçant ainsi l'impression de continuité du cours des mouvements historiques.

Les commentaires sont, sans exception, de caractère illustratif-pittoresque et non explicatif. Trois d'entre les quatre flèches qui barrent les quatre colonnes sont des citations pourvues de notes en bas de page.^d

Soit dit entre parenthèses que le schéma illustre fort bien le jugement avancé par la 2^e phrase du passage: « Il ne semble pas qu'un déterminisme étroit lie les unes (les difficultés économiques) aux autres (les rapports sociaux), à cette époque. » La conclusion de la dernière phrase exceptée, aucun lien direct entre les éléments rangés dans la colonne N° 2 et N° 3, par contre liens directs entre les éléments de ces deux colonnes et ceux symbolisant le pouvoir central et ses activités.

4.3.2. Le modèle schématisé nous apprend que

a) la composition du message ne se prête pas à l'interpolation d'explications interprétatives verbeuses et/ou de caractère encyclopédique (cf: commentaires de nature illustrative-pittoresque, économie de la composition);

b) cette même composition permet de recourir, si la nécessité s'en impose, à des notes en bas de page.

Il s'ensuit que si le texte en LC est destiné à un public de non initiés (non spécialistes), tout autre procédé est permis au traducteur, sauf l'emploi de calques et de substitutions pragmatiques; excepté l'intrusion par surprise dans le texte en LC de signes en LD, et enfin, l'interpolation d'explications ou interprétations prolixes et/ou fastidieuses.

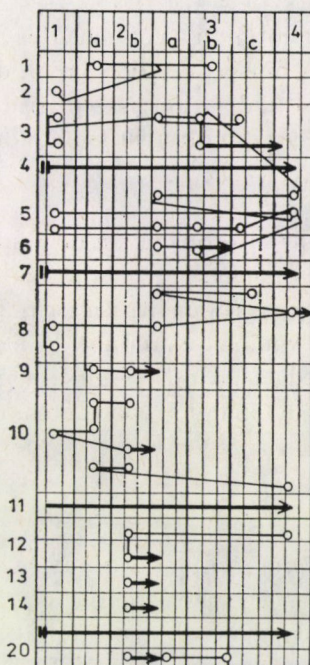
Une énumération exhaustive des procédés que le traducteur pourrait appliquer au cours de l'encodage du message en LC est non seulement illusoire

d) Les traits distinctifs du message sont encore, semble-t-il, des caractéristiques que les uns et les autres croient pouvoir saisir instinctivement. La préface de l'édition hongroise de l'Histoire de la civilisation française (*A francia civilizáció ezer éve*, Budapest, 1975.) compare la tonalité des chapitres écrits par G. Duby à un solo de violoncelle, celle des parties écrites par R. Mandrou (auteur du passage que nous analysons) à la musique plus complexe d'un instrument à clavier, ses staccatos s'adaptant mieux à la représentation de processus plus mouvementés. Ou pour se servir d'une autre image, cette même préface compare le style de Duby à l'art pictural de Breughel, celui de Mandrou à la peinture impressionniste (H. Balázs Éva, p. 15.).

Mais à regarder le texte en LC de plus près, si déjà l'écriture est comparée à la musique, force est de constater que les belles périodes balancées sont trop souvent tronquées, que les contrastes entre phrases courtes et phrases longues sont effacés par une tendance égalisatrice. Les trois notes (marquées sur le tableau N° 1) sont complètement rayées du texte. D'autres par contre, dans d'autres passages, sont intégrées au corps même de l'ouvrage. Les segments du texte, mis entre guillemets, correspondent soit à des citations (entre guillemets dans le texte en LD aussi), soit, souvent, à des métaphores inusitées dans la LC mais traduites littéralement (bien qu'elles ne réfèrent pas à une réalité extralinguistique inconnue au locuteur non initié de la LC). Quoi de plus naturel alors, que le transcodage des termes à référent inexistant dans l'univers langagier régulier du sujet parlant de la LC soit effectué un peu au hasard, souvent à la perfection, de temps en temps malencontreusement.

mais contraire aussi au caractère créateur de toute communication, même interposée. L'harmonie du système qu'est tout message, peut exclure l'emploi d'un certain procédé à un certain endroit du message, non que le procédé fût « bon » ou « mauvais », mais simplement parce que, là et alors, il est incompatible avec l'actualisation du plan du message.

Tableau 1



Dans la colonne (1) sont groupés les symboles des éléments signifiants qui ont un référent temporel; dans la colonne (2) ceux qui réfèrent (a) aux difficultés économiques et (b) aux bénéficiaires des embarras des finances publiques; dans la colonne (3) ceux référant aux rapports sociaux, à savoir aux représentants (a) de la noblesse, (b) de la robe, (c) de la bourgeoisie; dans la colonne (4) ceux référant au pouvoir central et aux diverses activités et mesures de ce pouvoir.

Les chiffres figurant à la gauche de la colonne (1) se rapportent au numéro d'ordre des phrases du texte. (Cf. Annexe N° 1.)

Les flèches symbolisent des commentaires, c'est-à-dire des portions du texte qui ne véhiculent pas de nouvelles informations et qui servent soit à expliquer plus amplement un passage précédent du texte, soit à l'illustrer.

A la recherche de la quadrature du cercle?

5.1. Au cours de l'analyse du texte pris de l'Histoire de la civilisation française, nous avons écarté la possibilité d'un vide contextuel, dû à l'inadvertance de l'émetteur. Le but de la communication et la valeur du texte examiné nous semblaient réduire au minimum cette éventualité.

Le vide contextuel, les troubles du processus de la communication qui remontent à l'inattention ou, au contraire, à l'intention de l'émetteur de produire un énoncé ambigu, sont néanmoins des difficultés réelles auxquelles le

traducteur se heurte quelquefois. Leur transcodage remet en cause la question de l'équivalence en matière de traduction.

Si tout à l'heure la valeur du texte nous paraissait exclure la présence du « trou » contextuel, c'est donc que la concision, le fini du message et/ou de son actualisation sont liés à cette valeur. Alors, les publications éphémères, bouclées souvent à la hâte, comme par exemple les écrits journalistiques ou administratifs, devraient être les textes susceptibles de contenir des hiatus contextuels.

Le texte dont nous allons nous occuper maintenant, contient des ambiguïtés qui, sous l'effet de la traduction et selon l'interprétation qu'en donne l'émetteur interposé, peuvent aboutir ou à une actualisation indéchiffrable au destinataire en LC, ou à des structures superficielles qui altèrent le plan discursif et expressif du message.

5.2. Le texte en question — et dont nous ne citerons ici qu'un seul passage — est un discours prononcé à l'Assemblée nationale de la République Populaire Hongroise par l'un des membres du gouvernement. En ce qui concerne le trouble de la communication que nous voulons examiner, le passage cité est typique du message tout entier et sa rédaction reflète un usage bien établi dans le domaine des textes qualifiés précédemment d'éphémères, même les meilleurs.

Texte en LD (en hongrois)

[...] *Társadalmi, gazdasági programjaink, határozataink világosan szólnak az ország helyzetéről és jövőjéről. Igaz és ezért meggyőző képet kaptunk belőlük eredményeinkről, a fejlődésünket kísérelő ellentmondásokról. De nem adhattak választ életünk, társadalmi fejlődésünk valamennyi gondjára, kérdésére.*

Traduction littérale

Nos programmes sociaux et économiques, nos résolutions s'expriment clairement sur la situation et sur l'avenir du pays. Nous en avons obtenu une image fidèle donc convaincante de nos résultats, des contradictions qui vont de pair avec notre développement. Mais ils ne pouvaient pas répondre à tous les soucis, à tous les problèmes de notre vie, de notre développement social.

Ce qui intrigue dans le texte, outre la redondance dont l'analyse et les problèmes particuliers n'entrent pas dans le cadre de cet examen, c'est bien la fréquence des morphèmes référant à la 1^{ère} personne du pluriel: 7 dans 3 phrases. Ces morphèmes, par leur essence même, ne déterminent de façon univoque l'actant, ni en LD ni en LC. Leur fonction est de référer à l'émetteur du message + un ou plusieurs autres actants.

Considéré dans le cadre de l'acte de communication, ce morphème marque (tant en hongrois qu'en français)

— la présupposition de l'émetteur selon laquelle il s'identifie avec le destinataire, formule introduite dans le but de s'assurer la participation du partenaire aux objectifs de l'acte de communication;

— la solidarité de l'émetteur avec d'autres personnes non précisées, laissant ainsi sous-entendre la présence virtuelle d'une certaine autorité ou puissance (réelle ou potentielle) dont l'émetteur est ou fait semblant d'être un des tenants, autorité ou puissance dont le destinataire est cependant exclu de manière implicite. Cette formule est souvent introduite dans le but d'imposer au destinataire, à l'aide d'une manipulation éliminatoire, les vues de l'émetteur;

— la dilution de la personnalité de l'émetteur, dans le but d'imprégner le message soit d'un ton de majesté, soit au contraire, d'une modestie qui, tous deux, dépersonnalisent le message.

Il est nécessaire de préciser qu'une certaine fréquence du morphème référant à la 1^{ère} personne du pluriel est inévitable dans le discours hongrois, par suite du système de la langue. Le passage cité ne contient toutefois aucun de ces cas.

Si, comme le montre l'énumération — qui ne se veut pas complète — le morphème référant à la 1^{ère} personne du pluriel peut être intercepté de plusieurs manières et s'il peut remplir, dans l'acte de communication, des fonctions s'excluant réciproquement, le destinataire doit avoir des points de repère exacts, à l'aide desquels il sera capable d'en déchiffrer la fonction donnée. Ces points de repère peuvent être de nature textuelle et/ou méta-textuelle.

Pour ce qui est du message analysé, l'environnement méta-textuel original et le milieu socio-culturel des destinataires premiers pourraient suffir au décryptage du texte.

La 1^{ère} personne du pluriel réfère à l'émetteur en tant que

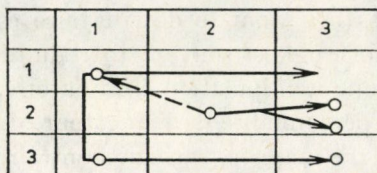
- 1) membre du Parti Socialiste Ouvrier Hongrois et membre du gouvernement de la République Populaire Hongroise;
- 2) orateur inscrit à l'ordre du jour de ladite session de l'Assemblée;
- 3) citoyen hongrois.

La texture ne révèle pourtant pas l'identité de ceux à qui, dans les différentes portions du message, l'émetteur s'identifie. L'actualisation ne peut être interprétée à fond que par un destinataire initié, en possession d'informations extralinguistiques et méta-textuelles. Ces nuances échapperont au lecteur en LD non initié (est-il récepteur éventuel ou destinataire potentiel?) qui connaît toutefois le code des textes de la même valeur. Les morphèmes référant à la 1^{ère} personne du pluriel y ont non seulement un sens grammatical mais aussi une auréole expressive, une connotation particulière. Ils sont en quelque sorte les signes langagiers d'un état d'esprit centré sur la réflexion et

l'action communautaires, bien que leur expressivité soit entamée par l'usage quotidien (que ne manquent pas de relever les locuteurs issus d'un milieu socio-culturel différent).

Le plan du message, établi pour visualiser les rapports entre les différents actants (groupe d'actants) possibles et les morphèmes référant à la 1^{ère} personne du pluriel, se réduit au schéma suivant:

Tableau 2



Les trois chiffres figurant sur l'axe vertical se rapportent aux trois phrases par ordre de rang; ceux figurant sur l'axe horizontal se rapportent au locuteur en tant que (1) membre du Parti Socialiste Ouvrier Hongrois et du gouvernement de la République Populaire Hongroise (2) orateur inscrit à l'ordre du jour de la session actuelle de l'Assemblée nationale; (3) citoyen hongrois.

Les lignes continues marquent les rapports directs, celles en traits discontinus les rappels impliqués; les pointes des flèches marquent le sens du cheminement discursif.

Les trois phrases réfèrent chacune à un autre ensemble d'émetteurs (actants) réels et/ou virtuels. Qui plus est, deux syntagmes consécutifs de la deuxième phrase réfèrent à deux ensembles d'émetteurs (actants) différents. La deuxième et la troisième phrase sont en liaison avec l'actant impliqué de la première phrase, la perspective de la prédication est cependant renversée (nous en avons obtenu ↔ ils ne pouvaient répondre à ... de notre ...).

Pour décrypter le texte, il faut, de toute évidence, y ajuster une grille qui permette la lecture claire et précise du message. Les trois phrases seront alors libellées comme suit:

Texte en LD

[...] *A Magyar Szocialista Munkáspárt társadalmi, gazdasági programjai, határozatai világosan szólnak az ország helyzetéről és jövőjéről. A [T.] Országgyűlés [valamint] az egész magyar társadalom igaz és ezért meggyőző képet kapott belőlük a*

Traduction littérale

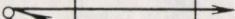
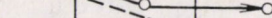



[...] Les programmes sociaux et économiques, les résolutions du Parti Socialiste Ouvrier Hongrois s'expriment clairement sur la situation et sur l'avenir du pays. Les députés [ici présents] [ainsi que] tous les citoyens de la Hongrie en ont obtenu une

magyar nép eredményeiről, a fejlődését kísérő ellentmondásokról. De ezek a programok és határozatok nem adhattak választ az ország életének, társadalmi fejlődésének valamennyi gondjára, kérdésére.

image fidèle donc convaincante des résultats obtenus par le peuple hongrois, des contradictions qui vont de pair avec son développement. Mais ces programmes et ces résolutions ne pouvaient pas répondre à tous les problèmes de la vie et du développement social du pays.

Le tableau N° 3 représente le plan des trois phrases explicitées:

Tableau 3

	1	2	3
1			
2			
3			

La notation ne contient aucun élément nouveau par rapport aux schémas précédents.

Les symboles rangés dans la colonne 1 représentent les éléments signifiants qui réfèrent au Parti Socialiste Ouvrier Hongrois; ceux de la colonne 2 aux députés à l'Assemblée, ceux enfin de la colonne 3 à la République Populaire Hongroise et/ou à ses habitants. L'appartenance de l'émetteur à ces formations politiques ou ensembles sociaux est passée sous silence pour que soient mis en vedette les formations ou ensembles eux-mêmes. Cette dépersonnalisation aussi a une valeur expressive mais tout autre que celle de la fréquence et de l'ambiguïté (voulue ou involontaire) des morphèmes référant à la 1^{ère} personne du pluriel.

5.3. Le traducteur présumé du message analysé plus haut est donc enfermé dans le dilemme suivant:

— garder les traits caractéristiques du plan, procédé en conséquence duquel le message transmis sera inévitablement obscur ou équivoque;

— ou ne pas les garder, c'est-à-dire décrypter le message et en expliciter les informations tant intralinguistiques qu'extralinguistiques/méta-textuelles, procédé en conséquence duquel le message transmis aura toutes les chances d'être compréhensible, bien que de facture tarabiscotée, et le plan du message d'être altéré. Ce changement est dû à ce que l'explicitation met en

relief certaines notions que l'émetteur aurait peut-être préféré laisser dans l'ombre, ou, pour le moins, dans la pénombre. Tout compte fait, le texte se verra ainsi dépouillé de sa connotation, consacrée par l'usage (du locuteur en LD).

Parenthèse sur les rapports entre équivalence et adaptation fonctionnelle

Nous voilà arrivés au point où, bon gré mal gré, s'impose une définition du terme *équivalence*. Par rapport à la traduction, ce terme ne correspond pas au sens que lui donnent les sciences, les mathématiques. Il nous semble que *l'équivalence en matière de traduction* est *l'actualisation en LC du message, réalisée à la base de l'adaptation fonctionnelle des destinataires, du but, de la valeur et du plan du message; que le but de la traduction est d'aboutir à un transcodage authentique par rapport à l'un ou à l'autre ou à plusieurs paramètres de l'acte de communication.*

L'art du traducteur ne consiste donc pas en une course aux illusions: dans la recherche de procédés inconciliables. Cet art consiste à compenser certaines pertes inévitables de l'actualisation par des gains conformes aux paramètres qu'il a retenus au moment de l'élaboration de sa stratégie et à appliquer cette stratégie avec esprit de suite.

La compétence du traducteur par contre consiste dans le choix réfléchi de sa stratégie.

En ce qui concerne le message examiné dans le chapitre précédent, le traducteur se décidera vraisemblablement pour une stratégie fidèle à la *valeur originale du message* si le destinataire en LC, quoiqu'il ne soit pas locuteur natif de la LD, connaît les cadres de l'acte de communication original et qu'il est perméable au milieu socio-culturel des partenaires premiers dans cette communication.

Il se décidera probablement pour une stratégie fidèle au *plan discursif du message*, aux informations de tous genres véhiculés par le texte, si la traduction est faite à l'intention de destinataires en LC non initiés mais désireux d'obtenir des informations de fait.

La stratégie n'est pas toujours aussi simple à définir qu'au cas des deux extrêmes que nous venons de décrire. Les pour et les contre que le traducteur doit balancer ne se comptent pas. Il n'y a pas de principe général qui tienne. Ce qui détermine en fin de compte l'authenticité de la variante en LC du message, c'est la clairvoyance du traducteur au moment où il choisit sa stratégie c'est son intelligence de l'analogie fonctionnelle à actualiser.

Grandeur et misères de la prédication

7.1. Les textes que nous avons examinés au long de deux chapitres sont, tous les deux, du domaine des sciences humaines ou de leur application. Ils s'inscrivent dans l'ensemble des messages caractérisés par les traits particuliers d'un groupe humain, d'une communauté humaine aux traditions identiques et dont les membres vivent dans le climat d'une même civilisation et d'une même structure sociale. Certains référents auxquels renvoie l'actualisation du message sont forcément typiques de la manière dont ce groupe humain, cette communauté découpe la réalité extralinguistique à la base de sa propre expérience particulière. Aussi la traduction d'un message de ce genre enferme-t-elle nécessairement le traducteur dans un dilemme duquel il ne peut sortir qu'au prix de pertes (sémantiques et/ou expressives) plus ou moins grandes.

Mais il n'y a pas qu'un seul univers du message. Les référents auxquels renvoie l'actualisation peuvent correspondre à une réalité extralinguistique découpée de façon identique par des groupes humains, par des communautés à traditions différentes, à civilisation et à structure sociale dissemblables.

C'est dans cet ensemble de messages caractérisés par une expérience généralisable et généralisée de la réalité extralinguistique que s'inscrivent les textes dits scientifiques et techniques. Leur traduction impose à l'émetteur en LC la tactique de s'en tenir rigoureusement au plan du message et rien qu'au plan du message.

7.2. L'assertion semble évidente, la mise en pratique est néanmoins précaire.

Nous l'allons montrer tout à l'heure.

La prédication actuelle, c'est-à-dire la différenciation des éléments signifiants dont le message et/ou une de ses portions communiquent quelque chose de ceux dont les précédents énoncent quelque chose, est un point capital de l'agencement du discours. Demander au traducteur le transcodage exact de ces deux piliers de l'énoncé, d'un enchaînement d'énoncés et/ou du message en tant que système, nous semble ne pas être une exigence exagérée. D'autant plus que le renversement de l'apport (topic) et du support (comment) ou de l'actant central du message et de l'apport particulier d'un énoncé est susceptible d'altérer, voire de fausser le plan du message. Il est cependant connu que le traducteur est facilement aveuglé par l'actualisation des structures superficielles du texte en LD. Les relations de nature linguistique qu'il doit transcoder l'incitent à concentrer ses efforts en premier lieu sur la rédaction d'un énoncé bien formé et sensé. Il lui arrive quelquefois de perdre de vue par exemple la prédication du discours, omission qui est source de maintes erreurs ou de regrettables faux

sens. La difficulté de l'auto-correction de ce genre de méprises réside dans le fait qu'elle ne se signale pas forcément à la relecture du texte: une prédication à rebours, à elle seule, n'engendre ni un énoncé agrammatical ni un contexte nécessairement absurde.

Il va sans dire que les erreurs d'interprétation ou de transcodage dues à la confusion de l'apport et du support et/ou de l'actant central du message ne sont pas les seules causes de la modification ou de la falsification d'un message. Elles ne seront analysées qu'à titre d'exemple, leur portée étant incalculable dans la traduction d'un texte scientifique et technique.

7.3. Les deux phrases que nous allons examiner sont prises des Lettres sur la probabilité (Levelek a valószínűségről) d'Alfréd Rényi. (Édition originale: Budapest, 1967.) L'éminent mathématicien hongrois, spécialiste du calcul des probabilités, a écrit ces lettres fictives — adressées à Pierre Fermat au nom de Blaise Pascal — afin que le destinataire non mathématicien du message comprenne, sans efforts particuliers, la théorie de la probabilité dont l'élaboration et les principes majeurs lui sont contés — oui, contés ! — au long d'une dizaine d'épîtres.

Amalgame de la vulgarisation scientifique et du badinage, le message se caractérise tantôt par une redondance de temps à autre diffuse, tantôt par l'exactitude scientifique du raisonnement.

Pour éviter au destinataire les difficultés que lui poserait le décodage de certains termes scientifiques, l'émetteur se plaît à les remplacer de-ci de-là par des mots du langage courant. Nonobstant, pas de vides contextuels, pas d'ambiguïtés de référence, mais changements fréquents de registre et, souvent, syntaxe à la va vite de la langue parlée. Tout compte fait: message facile à décoder, difficile à transcoder.

Les Lettres furent traduites en plusieurs langues. Après avoir comparé les traductions allemande, anglaise, roumaine et russe, il semble que le texte allemand, la traduction la première en date, ait été à la source des autres traductions. Toutes les déviations du plan original du message se retrouvent fatalement de manière identique dans le plan de référence établi à la base des trois autres textes en LC. Par conséquent, nous ne comparerons à l'original que deux des quatre traductions mentionnées plus haut.

7.3.1. Pour faciliter la comparaison du passage analysé, je présente l'une après l'autre, la phrase originale (A) et sa traduction littérale en français (B), puis la traduction anglaise (C) et allemande (D) de cette même phrase.

(A)

(B)

Mármost az Ön kérdése az, hogy nem Ainsi donc, votre question est de
circulus vitiosusról van-e szó, hiszen savoir si, ici, il ne s'agit pas d'un

látszólag a valószínűség definíciójához felhasználjuk a valószínűségek egyenlőségét, azaz önmagával definiáltuk, márpedig egy fogalom meghatározásánál nem szabad magát a fogalmat felhasználni, hiszen ez olyan, mintha önmagunkat a saját hajunknál fogva próbálnánk felemelni.

cercle vicieux, puisqu'apparemment, pour définir la probabilité, nous avons recours au [principe de] l'égalité des probabilités (sic!), ce qui revient à dire que nous l'avons définie par elle-même, or, pour définir un concept on n'a pas le droit de recourir à ce même concept, puisque ce serait comme si nous voulions nous hisser dans l'air par nos propres cheveux.

(C)

*You ask if a kind of *circulus vitiosus* does not lurk behind this identity, for the definition of probability seems to depend on the concept of "equally probable events" so that we defined probability by itself, which is of course forbidden and as absurd as if somebody said he could lift himself by his own hair.*

(D)

Sie fragen, ob es sich hierbei nicht um ein *Circulus vitiosus* handle; denn anscheinend stützt sich die Definition der Wahrscheinlichkeit auf den Begriff „gleichwahrscheinliche Ereignisse“, so daß wir die Wahrscheinlichkeit durch sich selbst definiert hätten, was natürlich unerlaubt und ebenso absurd ist, wie wenn jemand behauptet, er könne sich an den eigenen Haaren in die Höhe ziehen.

Si nous réduisons l'ossature de la phrase à un schéma, la modification du plan deviendra flagrante. Comparons donc les tableaux N° 4 et 4/A.

Apparemment, les traducteurs ont simplement substitué à la 1^{ère} personne du pluriel (toujours suspecte de ne pas référer à une 1^{ère} personne) une forme impersonnelle;

— mais au lieu d'interpréter le sens du verbe 'se servir de', 'utiliser', 'avoir recours à', ils ont donné une valeur métaphorique au prédicat ('la définition semble s'appuyer sur', '~ relever de');

— dans la deuxième partie du raisonnement, là où l'émetteur formule une thèse éminemment objective, ils introduisent une 1^{ère} personne du pluriel;

— au lieu d'avoir fidèlement interprété le sens de l'élément charnière (marquant l'introduction d'une réflexion incidente, signalant une transition entre deux moments distincts du récit), ils le remplacent par un autre, marquant la conséquence;

— et pour couronner le tout, ils relèguent le référent 'il est interdit/défendu', 'on n'a pas le droit' dans la dernière séquence de la phrase.

Au lieu d'une subordonnée causale, faisant reconnaître comme logique la suite du raisonnement, cette dernière séquence en LC a la valeur d'une

Tableau 4

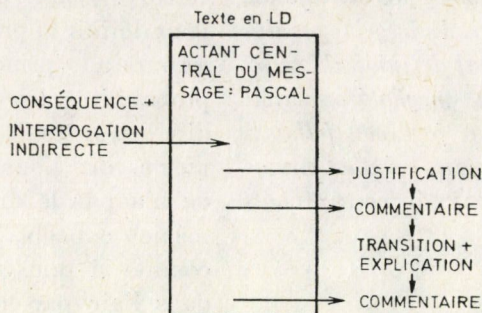
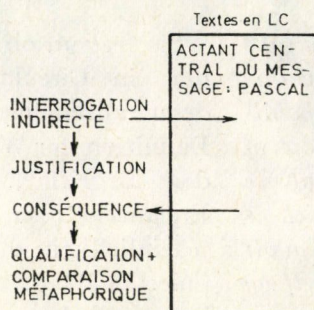


Tableau 4/A



qualification, et l'idée de l'interdiction, de la défense aidant, un nouveau concept est introduit dans la proposition (l'absurdité). Enfin, la dépersonnalisation de la comparaison/ 'comme si nous voulions' ↔ 'comme si quelqu'un disait qu'il pouvait') contribue à donner à la corrélation sujet: objet du message un sens différent de celui de l'original

7.3.2. Avant de confronter l'ossature du texte en LD avec celle des textes en LC, il nous faudra examiner le texte hongrois de la deuxième phrase que nous analysons, ainsi que ces diverses traductions.

(A)

En feltételeztem, hogy minden véletlen eseményhez hozzárendelhető egy meghatározott 0 és 1 közé eső szám, melyet az esemény valószínűségének neveztem és amely az esemény bekövetkezésére vonatkozó nem-teljes bizonyosság fokát fejezi ki.

B)

J'ai présumé qu'à chaque événement aléatoire pouvait être affecté un nombre déterminé [du domaine allant] de 0 à 1 que j'ai nommé la probabilité d'un événement et qui exprime le degré de la certitude non absolue de la réalisation d'un événement.

(C)

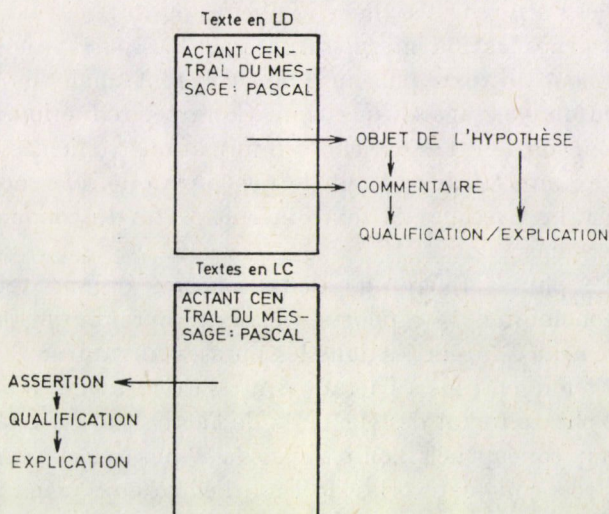
According to my assumption every random event has a certain probability which is a number between 0 and 1 and indicates the degree of incomplete certainty of the event in question.

(D)

Nach meiner Annahme besitzt jedes zufällige Ereignis eine bestimmte Wahrscheinlichkeit, die eine Zahl zwischen 0 und 1 ist und die den Grad der unvollständigen Gewißheit des betrachteten Ereignisses angibt.

Et voici le schéma du plan original, opposé à celui des textes en LC, plan distordu par une fausse prédication:

Tableau 5



Les traducteurs ont omis d'interpréter le premier prédicat, terme à sens plein ('affecter à') et l'ont remplacé par un élément à sens beaucoup plus large, donc imprécis ('avoir', 'posséder');

— puis, ils y ont ajouté le commentaire explicatif du support ('probabilité d'un événement');

— ainsi, la première séquence, au lieu d'être une prémisse du raisonnement, se réduit à une affirmation tronquée, à une lapalissade pour tout dire ('chaque événement aléatoire a une certaine probabilité');

— la deuxième séquence a beau être équivalente à celle en LD, la nouveauté de l'hypothèse émise par Pascal perd sa valeur originale ('que j'ai nommé la probabilité d'un événement').

La corrélation sujet : objet du message est faussée à tel point que le contenu est vidé de son sens fondamental.

Équivalence, où es-tu ?

Le condensé: le message en réduction — Équivalence des condensés

8.1. Dans les chapitres précédents, nous avons essayé de relever quelques-uns des termes possibles de la comparaison entre les textes en LD et LC, pour cerner à leur aide, le noyau du problème. Notre but n'était pas d'épuiser le sujet, et nous en sommes fort loin.

Pour terminer, nous nous sommes proposé d'étudier la question de l'équivalence sous un angle insolite, sous celui de l'équivalence du condensé du texte en LD et LC. Par condensé nous entendons ici les passages du texte qui renferment le plus grand nombre de concepts inclus dans le message et/ou les portions de l'actualisation qui s'y incorporent par le plus grand nombre de rapports (liens explicites ou implicites).

Selon la structuration interne du message, ces passages, mis les uns après les autres, forment un texte plus ou moins cohérent, mais toujours typique de la constitution du message en question. Ce texte, réduction de l'objet de la communication, contient l'essentiel des informations véhiculées par le message.

Si nous examinons de ce point de vue le plan de référence représenté sur le tableau N° 1, les passages du texte faisant partie du condensé peuvent être aisément déterminés:

- la 1^{ère} phrase réfère aux deux concepts organisateurs du chapitre (difficultés économiques ↔ rapports sociaux), référents qui figureront encore à 4, respectivement à 5 reprises dans les phrases suivantes;

- la 2^e réfère en plus à l'actant central du message: temps, durée;

- la 5^e phrase inclut des éléments de l'actualisation référant à trois des quatre faisceaux conceptuels, comme dans la 2^e phrase, mais à cette différence près que les trois sous-catégories de l'un d'entre eux y figurent au nombre complet;

la 9^e phrase, comprise sans le commentaire marqué sur le schéma, réfère aux deux concepts organisateurs d'un fragment du texte, composé de plus de dix phrases.

La lecture continue des quatre phrases nous permet de saisir l'essentiel discursif du chapitre.

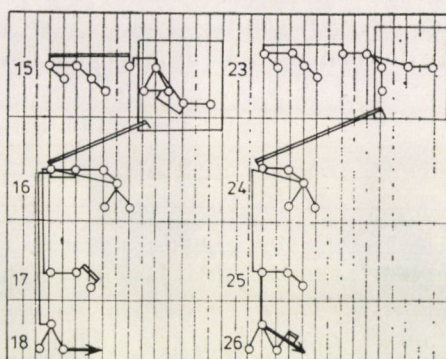
Si la traduction du texte est bien constituée, donc équivalente à l'original du point de vue de sa structuration discursive, les phrases correspondantes sont censées former un condensé analogue à celui du texte en LD.

8.2. Mais le condensé du message n'a pas toujours une configuration aussi simple que celle que nous venons d'examiner. Plus le raisonnement est complexe et/ou l'expression langagière est nuancée, plus la constitution du condensé sera compliquée, plus difficile à saisir seront ses traits distinctifs. Aussi allons-nous examiner un texte plus compliqué, pour mieux dire un passage tiré d'une polémique philosophique de Jean Piaget (cf. Annexe N° 2).

Vu le but de notre examen, nous ne ferons pas le schéma complet du plan de référence du chapitre en question. Nous ne regarderons à la loupe que le modèle de quelques phrases consécutives (15-18) d'un chapitre assez volumineux, phrases qui contiennent le plus grand nombre de concepts inclus dans le message et le plus grand nombre de rapports les liant aux autres portions de l'actualisation. Bref, l'examen portera uniquement sur les énoncés faisant partie du condensé.

La représentation graphique du modèle figurant sur le tableau N° 6 présente, l'un sous l'autre, le schéma des phrases en question. La colonne de gauche représente la forme schématisée des quatre phrases en LD, celle de droite la structuration des phrases correspondantes en LC.

Tableau 6



L'exploration ayant cette fois-ci un autre but que les fois précédentes, le modèle, partant la notation aussi, seront différents.

Les cercles marquent les éléments signifiants, porteurs des traits distinctifs du cheminement de la pensée. Leur position sur l'axe horizontal marque la coordination (la juxtaposition), leur déplacement sur l'axe vertical marque la subordination. Le signe \square symbolise un rapport déictique atone; le signe $\overline{\square}$ marque un rapport déictique tonique. Dans la première phrase, un certain nombre de signes sont encadrés. Cette notation symbolise un rapport de l'ensemble des éléments figurant dans le cadre avec un autre élément (ou groupe d'éléments) du message. Les flèches marquent un commentaire textuel. L'une qui pointe vers l'horizontale, marque un rapport de coordination tandis que l'autre, pointant vers l'oblique, marque la subordination.

L'essentiel de l'organisation du message original est facile à repérer: chaque phrase est liée à une autre et plusieurs propositions s'enchaînent entre elles à l'aide d'éléments à fonction déictique, de sorte que certaines phrases et certaines propositions s'emboîtent les unes dans les autres. La réduction du texte s'impose donc au fil de la configuration régressive du message.

Le schéma fait à partir du texte en LC (hongrois) n'a pas la même organisation. Ni les rapports déictiques toniques face aux rapports déictiques atones, ni les relations syntactiques entre les propositions ne permettent une réduction du texte analogue à celle de l'original. Le schéma marque en plus une différence spectaculaire entre l'articulation des éléments figurant dans les deux cadres. Cette différence à première vue entre les deux schémas décèle un défigurement du message original.

Pour rédiger le condensé, la simple concaténation des éléments censés s'y intégrer ne dira presque rien. Mais la clef de la réduction une fois trouvée, le condensé formera un texte cohérent.

Pour ce qui est de la version en LC du condensé, dont nous donnons ci-dessous une retraduction littérale, les diverses portions du texte ne s'y emboîtent pas sans faille, aussi le texte manque-t-il de cohérence. Il serait difficile de parler de l'équivalence des textes en LD et LC.

Voici donc le texte du condensé tel que le schéma nous le révèle:

Texte en LD

(15) *Mais la construction que réclame l'attitude dialectique suppose tout de même plus.*

(16) *La construction engendre souvent elle-même les négations, en solidarité avec les affirmations pour en trouver ensuite la cohérence en un commun dépassement.*

(17) *Ce modèle traduit une démarche inévitable de la pensée.*

(18) *Il correspond, dans le domaine des structures, à un processus historique sans cesse répété.*

Traduction littérale du texte en LC

(23) Mais la raison pour laquelle la construction réclame davantage, c'est que. . .

(24) La construction engendre souvent elle-même les négations — solidairement des affirmations* — pour enfin parvenir à trouver [les liens de] corrélation dans un commun dépassement.

(25) Ce modèle est une étape inévitable du raisonnement.

(26) Il correspond, dans le domaine des structures, à ce processus historique se répétant sans arrêt (que G. Bachelard a décrit). . .

* Contresens capital. Le traducteur a interprété le terme « solidarité » au sens juridique du mot, puis l'a inséré dans le contexte d'une manière abusive (cf. le texte en annexe).

Conclusions

L'équivalence ou la non-équivalence établie d'après la structuration du condensé révèle non seulement les différences de la constitution du texte en LD et LC, les dissemblances éventuelles dues au transcodage. L'analyse com-

parée des deux condensés dévoile aussi la corrélation étroite entre la forme verbale, la fonction communicative et la structure discursive et/ou expressive du message.

Tous les modèles que nous avons présentés, montrent, nous semble-t-il, assez clairement qu'au fond c'est leur interdépendance qui recèle le contenu qui est à la fois « enveloppé, impliqué et dissimulé dans les formes, structures, fonctions analysées. »^e

Si donc nous disions au début de cette étude que la traduction se fonde sur la dialectique du variable et de l'invariable, nous devons tenir compte de cette interdépendance. La tactique du traducteur peut, et souvent doit modifier l'un ou l'autre des paramètres du message. Toutefois, pour aboutir à une variante authentique du texte en LD — et c'est ce que notre argumentation voulait prouver — cette modification a ses limites, sinon la traduction déforme la structure, la fonction et la forme du message original, par conséquent son contenu aussi.

Si le contenu est vraiment enveloppé, impliqué et en même temps dissimulé dans les formes verbales, les fonctions communicatives et les structures discursives et/ou expressives du message, il va de soi que la pierre de touche de l'équivalence en matière de traduction n'est pas purement et simplement la cohérence, la grammaticalité et le conformité au bon usage du texte en LC, ni une conformité linguistique des structures superficielles, aussi scientifique qu'ait été la confrontation de ces structures.

S'il y a corrélation entre forme, fonction et structure, porteurs du contenu, il semble évident qu'un gage possible de l'équivalence est la projection de pratiquement n'importe quelle facette (n'importe quel modèle) du message original sur son actualisation en LC. L'exploration du modèle peut donc servir non seulement à détecter les déformations de l'actualisation en LC du message, mais aussi à régir le processus de projection, qu'est la traduction équivalente.

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e) Cf: Henri Lefebvre: *Forme, fonction, structure dans le Capital*, in: *L'idéologie structuraliste*, Éditions Anthropos, Paris, 1971, p. 189.

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Annexe N° 1

(1) Les difficultés économiques ont-elles exercé une pression sur les rapports sociaux? (2) Il ne semble pas qu'un déterminisme étroit lie les unes aux autres, à cette époque. (3) Les chroniques du temps fournissent en abondance comme au début du siècle, leur lot de témoignage sur les rivalités qui opposent la noblesse de sang aux classes montantes, robe et bourgeoisie marchande; qui dressent face à face robins entre eux à l'entrée d'un tribunal, contestations de préséances, et parfois pis encore, avec une brutalité qui laisse loin derrière elle les jeux de scène de Molière sur les mêmes thèmes, et dont il faut donner un exemple entre cent.: « (4) M. Antoine Ducup, juge mage au sénéchal de Lauragais contre M. Jean Faure [...] »¹. (5) Dans ce domaine, le plus grand mouvement a été dû aux revisions et contrôles entrepris par les bureaux de Colbert pour fixer les titres et quartiers de noblesse: cette épuration qui a duré une bonne dizaine d'années, en dépit de la célérité exigée par le roi, est par le fait l'aboutissement d'une protestation aussi vieille que le siècle contre les anoblissements et la facilité avec laquelle les roturiers

grossissaient les rangs nobles depuis si longtemps. (6) La noblesse de robe, les ordres de décoration, tout passe au crible, à la grande satisfaction de ceux qui ne se sont pas faufilés indûment en ces bonnes compagnies. (7) L'on parla, avec M. de Sourdis, de la cérémonie qui s'était faite [. . .].²

(8) Le passage dans la noblesse devient dès lors plus difficile — et les recensements de Colbert, avec tant de grincements de dents et tant de roture remise à sa place, préludent à la formation de cette caste, qu'est devenue la noblesse dans les dernières décennies de l'ancien régime, un siècle plus tard.

(9) Cette stagnation économique a certes connu des bénéficiaires: regrattiers, spéculateurs sur le blé rare, dont les profits ne sont pas négligeables. (10) Mais ceux qui tirent le meilleur parti de ce malaise sont encore ceux qui ont profité des embarras des finances publiques: le déficit chronique va s'accroissant jusqu'à toucher la catastrophe lorsqu'à la fin du règne les revenus sont mangés plusieurs années à l'avance — pour le plus grand bonheur des trésoriers [. . .]; les financiers s'enrichissent sans vergogne dans des opérations complexes, qui tournent un instant au profit du roi et finalement au leur.

(11) Tout Paris parle périodiquement de ces fortunes [. . .] (12) Autres favorisés, à côté des quatre mille financiers auxquels Colbert voulait faire rendre gorge, les acheteurs d'offices royaux: [. . .] (13) Dans bien des métiers, leur rôle est important [. . .] (14) Touchons de près cette richesse solide: [. . .]¹ (15)–(20) Cette existence bourgeoise semble bien une vie économe, [. . .]; très différente donc dans son cadre et surtout dans son train de celle de Versailles et de la Cour, où dans un décor d'une autre ampleur, chacun dépense sans compter: la Ville et la Cour, l'opposition n'est pas seulement de théâtre.

(Georges Duby, Robert Mandrou: Histoire de la civilisation française, tome 2: XVII^e—XX^e siècle. Paris 1976, pp. 47–49).

Annexe N° 2

a) Texte en LD

(15) Mais la construction que réclame l'attitude dialectique ne consiste pas seulement à « lancer des passerelles » sur le gouffre de notre ignorance, dont l'autre bord s'éloigne sans cesse (p. 325): cette construction suppose tout de même plus, parce que c'est souvent elle-même qui engendre les négations, en solidarité avec les affirmations, pour en trouver ensuite la cohérence en un commun dépassement.

(16) Ce modèle hégélien ou kantien n'est pas un modèle abstrait ou purement conceptuel, sans quoi il n'intéresserait ni les sciences ni le structuralisme. (17) Il traduit une démarche inévitable de la pensée sitôt que celle-ci cherche à s'écarter des faux absolus. (18) Dans le domaine des structures, il correspond à un processus historique, sans cesse répété, et que G. Bachelard a décrit en l'un de ses meilleurs ouvrages, *La philosophie du non*.

(Jean Piaget: Le structuralisme. Presses Universitaires de France 1968, p. 108.)

b) Texte en LC

(23) De ez a felépítés, melyet a dialektikus beállítottság kíván meg, nemcsak azt jelenti, hogy „hidakat engedünk le” tudatlanságunk szakadéka fölött, melynek másik szélé állandóan távolodik: a felépítés azért követel meg többet, mert gyakran maga hozza létre a tagadásokat — egyetemlegesen az állításokkal —, hogy végül megtalálja az összefüggést a közös túlhaladásban.

(24) Ez a hegeli vagy kanti modell nem elvont vagy tisztán gondolati: ha így lenne, nem érdekelné sem a tudományokat sem a strukturalizmust. (25) Kikerülhetetlen szakasza ez a gondolkodásnak, mihelyt el kíván térni a hamis abszolútumoktól. (26) A struktúrák területén annak a szünet nélkül ismétlődő történeti folyamatnak felel meg, melyet G. Bachelard írt le *La philosophie du non* (*A nem filozófiája*) című — egyik legjobb — munkájában.

(Jean Piaget: Válogatott tanulmányok. Budapest 1970, 463.)

CRITICA

Bolla Kálmán: *Az amerikai angol beszédhangok atlasza* [A Phonetic Conspectus of American English: The Articulatory and Acoustic Features of American English Speech-sounds]. (Hungarian Papers in Phonetics No. 9) MTA Nyelvtudományi Intézete Budapest, 1981, 215 pp.

In 1978 the Department of Phonetics of the Linguistics Institute, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, launched a series entitled *Magyar Fonetikai Füzetek* [Hungarian Papers in Phonetics]. No. 5 in the series, published in 1980, contained several papers on interlingual phonetic comparisons and to some extent heralded the appearance of the present volume. Dr. Bolla is director of a project which is to result in the comparative analysis of Hungarian speech-sounds with Finnish, Russian, Polish, English (both American and British), German and Spanish speech-sounds.

The book consists of a preface (7–8), an introductory chapter (9–19) and 93 plates. There is a table of contents (3–5) listing each sound in phonetic script, followed by the regular spelling of the word from which the particular sound in the plate was taken.

The introductory chapter informs us that the subject of the analysis was an American graduate student on a one-year scholarship in Budapest. She was born and raised in South Dakota and at the age of 18 went to study at the University of Minnesota, Twin Cities. She has a good tone of voice and articulates well (11).

The corpus for this atlas contained 28 words to represent all the vowels and 53 words to represent all the consonants. All of them are listed on p. 11.

The introduction includes a description of the information in the plates in both Hungarian and English. From left to right, the heading of each plate contains the phonetic symbol of the sound, the word from which the sound was taken both in phonetic transcription and in regular spelling, plus the serial number of the plate.

Each plate contains several diagrams. On the left-hand side two photolabiograms are provided with six measurement points. Then a series of five photolabiograms (called “the dynamic labiogram series”) is presented from the videotape recording. The pictures show, both frontally and in profile, the initial phase of articulation, the phases at the first, second and third quarter of the time of articulation, and the final phase.

The articulatory positions of the supraglottal cavities during the clear phase of the sound are shown by a cineradiogram contour. The contours are given in schematic drawings “because the copying and typographic reproduction of the X-ray film blur the fine differences in shade and consequently observation is difficult” (15). Over 30 reference points are placed in each schematic drawing to facilitate analysis.

A “schematic cineradiogram series” is also provided consisting of five drawings based on the X-ray film. In a similar way

to the dynamic labiograms, these show the articulatory organs in the initial and final phases of articulation with the phases at the first, second and third quarter of time in between.

The right-hand side of the plates contains a palatogram and a linguogram, a composite oscillographic diagram, a dynamic spectrogram and an amplitude section. Of the three oscillograms provided, the one in the middle includes "all the acoustic components of the sound and shows their changes through the entire length of articulation" (18). One or two segments delimited on this record are enlarged above it, and a glottographic representation showing the vibrations of the vocal cords is given below this middle curve.

Finally, a spectrogram and a three-part amplitude section are provided, with the latter representing the frequency and relative intensity data over a period of 8 msec.

Thus this atlas offers a wealth of detailed information on the articulatory and acoustic character of *most* American English speech-sounds. Particularly noticeable is the omission of the voiced alveolar flap typical in American words like *latter*, *petal* etc. Quite possibly some disagreement will be felt with Bolla's "classification of English vowels according to their articulatory features" (23) on several points. He lists as many as 10 diphthongs and 5 triphthongs, which is a surprisingly large number compared to most analyses of American English. In the second edition of his *Course in Phonetics* (Harcourt, New York 1982), Peter Ladefoged, for instance, gives only six diphthongs and no triphthongs at all.

While I agree with Ladefoged (x) that in choosing a transcription you cannot please all the people all the time, I must note, firstly, that Bolla has apparently tried to reconcile the IPA transcription à la British English with the speech of his American informant, and, secondly, he is not even entirely consistent within this book.

The first of these tendencies is most noticeable in the author's treatment of words like *sewer*, *hear*, *more*, *fire* etc. Traditionally these words are usually said to contain diphthongs and triphthongs in British English but they are analyzed as a monophthong + [r] (*hear*) or diphthong + [r] (*fire*) in American English. In this book, however, the segments in question are transcribed as diphthongs or triphthongs.

The inconsistencies within the transcription involve no colons in the chart of vowels on p. 23 vs. colons after the vowel symbols in Plates 2 /father/, 7 /do/, 8 /key/ and 12 /earth/. The mid back vowel [o] in the chart never occurs in the plates.

Luckily, these problems do not detract too much from the value of the atlas as their example words in the headings unequivocally identify the sounds.

The book has been published in 300 copies and is distributed free of charge by the Department of Phonetics, Linguistics Institute, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, P. O. Box 19, Budapest, H-1250 Hungary.

M. Kontra

Jenő Kiss: *Mihályi tájszótár (Rábaköz) [Dialektwörterbuch von Mihály]*. Nyelv-tudományi Értekezések Nr. 103. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest 1979, 77 S.

Neben der Reihe der Wörterbücher, die den gesamten Wortschatz eines Dorfes umfassen (vgl. die Dialektwörterbücher von Szamoshat, Szeged, Ormányság, Slavonien) erschienen in den 70er Jahren auch einige Dialektwörterbücher mit geringerem Umfang, nämlich die Wörterbücher über den Dialekt von Felsőőr (Samu Imre) und das vorliegende Dialektwörterbuch über den Dialekt von Mihály. Für beide ist charakteristisch, daß in erster Linie echte (eigentliche) Dialektwörter bzw. in semantischer oder morphologischer Hinsicht interessante Dialektwörter gesammelt wurden. Das Material besteht zum Großteil aus Wörtern, die in der Literatursprache

unbekannt sind oder mit anderer Bedeutung bekannt sind; die Anzahl der Wörter, die nur in morphologischer Hinsicht Besonderheiten aufweisen ist gering.

Der Autor umreißt im Vorwort (5-16) die Methode der 15 Jahre umfassenden Sammelarbeit; Jenő Kiss hat das Material passiv gesammelt. Es wurde aber auch die aktive Methode angewandt; der Verfasser fragte die nicht umgangssprachlichen Formen der oben erwähnten Wörterbücher von seinen Eltern ab. In der Schlußphase wurden die gesammelten Wörter mit dem Wortschatz des *Értelmező kéziszótár* (Erläuterndes Handwörterbuch) verglichen: so wurden „jene Wörter — mit Ausnahme einiger volkstümlicher Wörter — die in diesem Wörterbuch nicht als Dialektwörter gekennzeichnet sind“ aus der Liste gestrichen (7). Ebenfalls entfernt wurde die „Mehrzahl der allgemein bekannten volkstümlichen bzw. umgangssprachlichen Wörter“ (8), mehrere typische Dialektwörter, die in den aktiven Wortschatz des Dialektes gehören wurden aber der Liste beigelegt.

Nach der kurzen Charakterisierung der phonologischen und morphologischen Eigenheiten des Dialekts von Mihály (9-10) wird der Aufbau der Wortartikel erklärt (10-11). Das Stichwort ist halbfett gedruckt: wenn es sich um semantische oder morphologische Dialektformen handelt steht die literarische Form, bei echten Dialektwörtern steht hingegen eine rekonstruierte (also nicht existierende) „literarische“ Form. Dem Stichwort folgt die kursiv gedruckte Dialektform. Zwischen Stichwort und Dialektform kann gegebenenfalls eines von drei Zeichen (bzw. eine Kombination) stehen: X = echtes Dialektwort, O = Dialektwort am Aussterben, + = schon ausgestorbenes Dialektwort (die möglichen Zeichenkombinationen: XO, X+). Abkürzungen verweisen auf die Wortart und eventuell auch auf stilistische Merkmale des Wortes (z.B.: grob, verächtlich, kindersprachlich, pejorativ usw.). Der Wortartikel schließt mit Erklärungen oder einem Beispielsatz. Mehrere Wortartikel

enthalten volkscundliche oder sprachliche Bemerkungen. In der Einleitung wird kurz die Geschichte von Mihály skizziert (12-16), hier sind Angaben für topographische Bezeichnungen im Zusammenhang mit den Wörtern und Wendungen (16) und das Verzeichnis der Abkürzungen zu finden (17).

Der Hauptteil des Dialektwörterbuches (19-74) enthält 2000 Wortartikel.

Den Wortartikeln folgen als Anhang Spottsprüche für Dörfer, Wettersprüche, Rederwendungen usw. (74-76).

Einige Bemerkungen zu den Wortartikeln dieses interessanten und nützlichen Dialektwörterbuches:

Die Erklärung der Wörter ist klar. In einigen Fällen aber ist die angegebene Bedeutung unbestimmt, zu allgemein; z.B.: 'eine Art Maßeinheit der Zimmerleute' (unter *félsukk*); 'ein bestimmtes Ballspiel spielen' (u. *némethármoz*); 'ein bestimmtes Ballspiel' (u. *némethárom*); 'ein kleiner Vogel' (u. *pityer*); 'eine Art Vogel' (u. *pitypalatty*).

Leider ist bei den häufigen zusammengesetzten Wörtern nicht das zweite Element Stichwort oder verweisendes Stichwort: dann wären die Wörter wie *brünercipő*, *lasztincipő*, *ruhacipő* unter dem Stichwort *cipő* 'Schuh' aufzufinden; auch für *gyűrűfa*, *kévekötfőfa*, *királyfa*, *kisafa*, *mamánfa*, *petrencefa* gibt es kein verweisendes Stichwort *fa* 'Holz'.

Im Wortartikel *gugyorog* 'zusammengesetzten hocken, sitzen' gehören zu den angegebenen Synonymen *gubbadoz*, *guggyadozik*, *guggyaszt*, *güszörög* noch die Angaben *kukorcol* '(längere Zeit) zusammengesetzten sitzen' und *összekutyorodik* 'sich zusammenziehen'.

Im Beispielsatz für *katymatyl* 'mischen, zusammenmischen (Speisen)' (*Mégin eszt a göncöt katymatyla az aszson* 'Die Frau hat schon wieder diesen ... zusammengemischt') ist das Wort *gönc* unklar.

Das vorliegende Dialektwörterbuch ist ein bedeutendes Werk. Die Auswahl des Materials für das Wörterbuch war sicher anstrengend. Es wäre erfreulich, wenn

mehrere ähnliche Dialektwörterbücher — um die noch existierenden Dialektformen zu retten — in Ungarn und in der ungarischsprachigen Gebieten der Nachbarländer erscheinen würden. Denn „das Sammeln des noch vorhandenen Dialektmaterials ist eine der dringendsten Aufgaben der Sprachwissenschaft. Die Vernachlässigung der Sammelarbeit würde nicht nur der Sprachwissenschaft selbst, sondern auch den angrenzenden Nachbardisziplinen großen Schaden zufügen.“ (Gyula Márton: *Magyar nyelvjárás* [Ungarische Dialektkunde]. Cluj 1970, 14).

Katalin Mokány

Robert M. Vago: The Sound Pattern of Hungarian. Georgetown University Press, Washington D. C. 1980, 150 pp.

Vago's book is the first reasonably complete generative analysis of the phonological component of Hungarian.¹ Apart from giving a detailed account of the phonological processes operative in that language, the author also sets himself the task of offering factual evidence concerning three current theoretical problems of generative phonology, viz. the so-called 'abstractness controversy', the issue of the extrinsic ordering of rules, and that of the local ordering of rules.

The book consists of four major chapters, dealing with the vowel system (in particular, vowel harmony), the consonant system (in particular, natural assimilation rules applying to consonants), the conjuga-

tion system, and the declension system, respectively. There is also an Appendix, containing the list of rules proposed in chapters 1-4; it is, in fact, a model for the organization of the phonological component of Hungarian.

1. Perhaps the most significant and certainly the most widely discussed aspect of Hungarian phonology is vowel harmony. In Chapter One (1-30), Vago first presents the underlying vowel system of Hungarian and discusses certain low-level rules pertaining to vowels, and then devotes the bulk of the chapter to an account of vowel harmony in Hungarian. He treats root harmony and suffix harmony separately, accounting for the first phenomenon by way of a morpheme structure condition and for the second by way of a (pair of) phonological rule(s).²

There are two classes of roots posing specific difficulties for the analysis of their harmonizing behaviour. First, there is a set of what Vago calls 'abstract vowel roots'. These are mainly monosyllabic roots containing one of the (neutral) front vowels *i*, *í*, or *é*, but nevertheless taking

² This solution has been criticized, among others, by Jensen (1978) and Phelps (1978). They argue that root harmony and suffix harmony are essentially the same process and that Vago's reasons for breaking down this process into an MSC and a rule (and thus "missing a generalization") are based on a small subclass of noun stems which should carry an exception feature rather than motivate that division. Vago (1978) replies that setting up exceptions where a more general solution is available is 'trivial and uninteresting', that constraints on underlying representations have to be expressed anyway and that root harmony differs from suffix harmony in that a) intramorphemic cooccurrence restrictions on vowels can be violated in roots (cf. 'disharmonic roots' like *so/ör* 'driver') but not in suffixes; b) roots but not suffixes may be (genuine) 'contextual exceptions' (i.e. may fail to trigger the application of the Vowel Harmony rule); and c) suffix vowels alternate harmonically, whereas (nonpenultimate) root vowels do not.

¹ The present volume is a shortened and revised version of Chapters III to VII of the author's 1974 doctoral dissertation [mimeographed by the Indiana University Linguistics Club as Vago (1975)]. Previous papers treating selected topics from Hungarian phonology in generative terms include Esztergar (1971), Jensen (1972), and Hetzron (1972). We shall point out differences and similarities between Vago's solutions and those of the above-mentioned authors at the appropriate places below.

back vowel suffixes. Vago posits the abstract underlying back vowels /i/, /i:/ and /Δ:/, respectively, and assumes that after the rule of vowel harmony (VH) has been regularly applied, these abstract vowels undergo an absolute neutralization rule that converts them into their front counterparts.³ (Incidentally, Vago's table of abstract vowel roots (p. 8) contains sixty-odd items with /i/ and/or /i:/ but only two items *cél* 'aim' and *héj* 'crust' containing underlying /Δ:/. Later, he also discusses the controversial item *derék* 'waist' [which is in fact much less controversial than he contends — presumably, he wants *derék* to look irregular so that he is not forced to posit underlying /Δ/ in the second syllable but is able to get away with an alternation between /e/ and /Δ:/]. He fails to notice, however, that there are two more obvious candidates for underlying /Δ:/, namely *béna* 'paralysed' and *néma* 'dumb'. These pattern exactly like *rítka* 'rare', *síma* 'smooth' and *tiszta* 'clean' in that their final vowel is deleted before the derivational suffixes -ít and *ul/ül*: *béna*, (meg)*bénít* 'paralyse', (meg)*bénül* 'become paralysed'; *néma*, (el)*némít* 'dumbfound', (el)*némül* 'be dumbfounded' but nevertheless they gov-

ern back harmony, cf. *bénító* 'paralysing' etc.).

The other class of problematic roots is that of 'mixed vowel roots'; in particular, roots where back vowel(s) are preceded by neutral vowel(s) and those where these two kinds of vowels occur in reverse order. In answering the question whether the neutral vowels which occur in mixed vowel roots are also abstract, i.e. [+ back], or neutral, i.e. [- back], Vago considers several types of evidence and concludes that such vowels are front at every level of representation.⁴ This conclusion has several significant implications for phonological theory (cf. Vago 1976). Namely, 1) root harmony and suffix harmony are *not* the same process; 2) the value of the harmonizing feature has to be specified in underlying representations, rather than filled in by VH (i.e. any solution involving archisegments is empirically inadequate); 3) VH is a phonological assimilation rule and not one oper-

³ Esztergar (1971) offers a 'concrete' solution (i.e. one not involving abstract segments) with underlying forms like /hida/ and /kian/ for *hid* 'bridge' and *kin* 'torture' respectively and derivations like /hida+to:l/ → /hida+to:l/ → /hiad+to:l/ → *hídtől* 'from (the) bridge' and /kian+ben/ → /kian+ban/ → *kinban* 'in torture'. There are three problems with this solution. First, the choice of /a/ in underlying forms like /kian/ is totally arbitrary since any back vowel could do the 'trick' — which shows that positing an underlying /a/ is just another way of saying that the /i:/ of *kin* behaves like a back vowel. Second, there is no independent support for deriving a long vowel from a sequence of two short vowels (cf. Vago 1975, 76). Third, Esztergar's solution works for nouns like *hid* 'bridge' but not for verbs like *tilt* 'forbid' where underlying /tialt/ would surface as **tílt*. Another type of 'concrete' description is presented by Ringen (1978, 1980).

⁴ Although this conclusion seems to be both intuitively plausible and theoretically preferable, the two types of evidence actually adduced are rather poor. In particular, Vago uses the 'Diminutive Evidence' (claiming that names like *Tibor*, *Éva* have an underlying front vowel in their first syllables because their diminutives — *Tibi*, *Évi* — govern front harmony) and the 'Doublet Evidence' (based on the free variation in the harmonic behaviour of names like *Agnes*) to demonstrate his point. Both types of evidence are inadequate in that the behaviour of a small subset of the set of forms in question is claimed to determine the analysis of the whole set of forms (cf. Jensen 1978, Phelps 1978). In addition, the Diminutive Evidence does not prove the point because it is quite commonly the case that irregular lexical items revert to the regular pattern if 're-used' in a secondary manner. For example, the accusative of *tükör* 'mirror' is *tükört* but if *Tükör* is used as the title of a weekly paper, it is *Tükört*; the adjective *víg* 'merry' governs back harmony (*víg-an* 'merrily') but the same word used as the name of a theatre in Budapest reverts to front harmony (*Víg-ben* 'in this theatre'), etc.

ating in terms of diacritic markers;⁵ and 4) VH does not necessarily assimilate a vowel to the immediately preceding vowel (adjacent assimilation) but rather skips over neutral vowels at the end of mixed vowel roots and assimilates suffix vowels to the last non-neutral (in this case, back) vowel of the root (nonadjacent assimilation).

After discussing two further problems of lesser theoretical import, i.e. that of in-

variable suffixes exhibiting no harmonic alternation at the phonetic level and that of suffixes exhibiting a three-way alternation by undergoing Rounding Harmony, as well as VH, Vago turns to the formalization of vowel harmony. He starts out by proposing three subrules; next, he considers various issues concerning the abbreviation, the ordering, and the domain of these subrules; and finally comes up with the following solution:

(1) Marked Vowel Harmony ((m) VH)

$$[+syll] \rightarrow [+back] / \left[\begin{array}{c} + \text{ syll} \\ + \text{ back} \end{array} \right] C_0 \left(\left[\begin{array}{c} + \text{ syll} \\ - \text{ back} \\ - \text{ round} \end{array} \right] C_0 \right)_i \text{---}$$

(2) Unmarked Vowel Harmony ((u)VH)

$$[+syll] \rightarrow [a \text{ back}] / \left[\begin{array}{c} + \text{ syll} \\ a \text{ back} \end{array} \right] C_0 \text{---}$$

⁵ An example of how diacritics can be used to describe vowel harmony in Hungarian is provided by Hetzron (1972). In Hetzron's framework, all non-neutral vowels are [+back] underlyingly. Starting from the left end of the string, his vowel harmony rule fronts all back vowels that follow the 'macrosegment-marker' [+FRONT], provided that no other marker (or word boundary) intervenes:

V → [-back] / [+FRONT][+segment]₀ -

Following the application of the vowel harmony rule, the feature [±FRONT] is deleted. Examples (involving the dative case marker -nak/nek):

/[-FRONT] torok + nak/ → toroknak
'throat'

/[+FRONT] torok + nak/ → töröknek
'Turk'

/[-FRONT] žong [+FRONT] lo:r +
+ nak/ → zsonglórnék 'juggler'

/[-FRONT] radi:r + nak/ → radírnák
'eraser'

/[-FRONT] hi:d + nak/ → hídnák
'bridge'

/[-FRONT] a:g [+FRONT] neš + nak/
→ Ágnesnek 'Agnes'

/[-FRONT] a:gneš + nak/ → Ágnesnak
'Agnes'

Vago (1980, 159-161) criticizes this alternation on the following grounds:

a) Vowel harmony is an assimilation process, and it is phonetically motivated. Neither of these facts can be explained if non-phonetic features are used to trigger the vowel harmony rule.

b) This device is too powerful in that it can generate any kind of violations of harmony in a regular manner, cf.

/[-FRONT] torok [+FRONT] nak/ →
*toroknek

/[+FRONT] torok [-FRONT] nak/ →
*töröknak

c) Hetzron's 'macrosegment' is a totally new linguistic unit, corresponding sometimes to a word, sometimes to a syllable, and in a number of cases to no known linguistic unit at all (cf. the second (=final) macrosegment of /[-FRONT] žong [+FRONT] lo:r + nak/). Furthermore, the diacritic does not always coincide with the syllable boundary (e.g. /[+FRONT] tib [-FRONT] or/, cf. /[+FRONT] tib + i + nak/ → Tibínék).

d) In the volume under review, Vago convincingly argues that certain alternating suffixes (including the dative case marker -nak/nek) have an underlying front vowel (cf. *nekem* 'to me'). If this is so, Hetzron's analysis of back-harmonic neutral vowel roots is untenable: his vowel harmony rule does not convert underlying /nek/ to -nak after /[-FRONT] hi:d/ 'bridge'.

e) The representation of surface front rounded vowels in roots as underlying back vowels is unjustifiable: there is absolutely no evidence that e.g. *török* 'Turk' starts out with back vowels. Further kinds of 'suprasegmental' analyses of Hungarian vowel harmony are presented in Clements (1976) and Ringen (1980) and refuted in Vago (1980, 161-177).

One set of rules, formalized as (1), assimilates a vowel to another vowel which is not in the adjacent syllable. Another set of rules, formalized as (2), assimilates a vowel to another vowel which is in the adjacent syllable. Vago calls these two types of assimilations marked (m) and unmarked (u), respectively, because he thinks that the latter is a more natural and general assimilation phenomenon than the former.

Rule (1) accounts for the harmonizing behaviour of mixed vowel roots containing a neutral vowel in the final syllable(s) (*tányér* 'plate', *április* 'April'). A few roots are obligatorily exempted from undergoing this rule (*József* 'Joseph', *október* 'October'). Vacillating roots that allow doublets are optionally exempted from conditioning (1) (*Ágnes* 'Agnes', *dzsungel* 'jungle'); their back vowel alternants are derived by (1). On the other hand, rule (2) accounts for the harmonizing behaviour of back vowel roots (*ház* 'house') including abstract vowel roots (*hid* 'bridge', *cél* 'aim'), as well as mixed vowel roots containing a nonneutral vowel in the final syllable (*bika* 'bull', *répa* 'carrot'). Rule (2) also covers front vowel roots (*kéz* 'hand', *öreg* 'old'), exceptions to (m)VH (*József*), and the front vowel alternants of doublets.

The two rules are disjunctively ordered and their domain is restricted to derived, or nonbasic, inputs; both these characteristics are based on universal constraints proposed by Paul Kiparsky.

2. As a result of the suffixation process and/or the application of higher level rules, a consonant may become adjacent to another consonant. Depending on the distinctive feature composition of these consonants,⁶ a number of assimilatory changes take place. In Chapter Two (31-47), Vago

⁶ Vago introduces a few revisions of conventional distinctive feature assignments for certain consonant segments (i.e. [+sonorant] for /v/, [-continuant] for /l/ and [-strident] for /v/ and /f/). For critical remarks concerning these, cf. Jensen (1982: 219).

discusses the phonological rules capturing these assimilations.

He sets up various allophonic and neutralization rules and claims that rules of the former type are obligatory, whereas those of the latter type are, with one exception, optional. He also offers the interesting generalization that, in Hungarian, regressive assimilation may take place across word-boundaries, but progressive assimilation may not. The presence of the optional word boundary in the statement of these rules is therefore predictable.

As far as the set of underlying consonant segments goes, Vago proposes one abstract underlying segment: /w/ which is never realized as [w]. Part of the justification for this abstract analysis is as follows. The segment in question occurs e.g. in the suffixes /wel/, /wa:/, /we:rt/, /wig/ and /wul/. In the first two suffixes, /w/ assimilates to the preceding consonant or surfaces as [v] in case it is preceded by a vowel. The underlying forms of these two suffixes cannot contain /v/ since the /v/ of v-initial suffixes proper is never assimilated. The last three suffixes mentioned above are assumed to begin with /w/ in order that their exceptional failure to drop their vowels after vowel-final stems be explained. Having prevented these suffixes from undergoing Vowel Truncation, their /w/ is subsequently deleted.⁷

⁷ Esztergar (1971) posits the internal word boundary # preceding these suffixes: /#e:rt/ and /#ig/; she does not discuss the suffix -ul/ül. However, the application of Vowel Truncation must be blocked by something other than #, for two reasons. First, Vowel Harmony must not be prevented from applying to -ul/ül or to any subsequent suffix, cf. *holtomiglan* 'as long as I live'. Second, there is a rule of Low Vowel Lengthening (cf. *alma* 'apple', *almát* (acc.); *kefe* 'brush', *kefét* (acc.) etc.) which is inapplicable before #-initial suffixes (e.g. /o:ra#kor/ → *órakor* 'at... o'clock', **órakor*) but freely applies before -ért, -ig, and -ul/ül: *fáért* 'for wood', *fáig* 'as far as (the) tree', *franciául* 'in French'. (Incidentally, Esztergar posits # before all invariable neutral vowel suffixes, therefore her grammar cannot generate forms

3. Chapter Three (48–90) deals with the highly complex morphophonemic alternations of Hungarian verbs. Vago first describes the suffixes of the indefinite and definite conjugations, sets up their underlying forms and formalizes the various phonological processes they undergo. He captures idiosyncratic characteristics by way of morpholexical (suppletion) rules but tries to extract as many regularities from the data as possible. In so doing, he often makes use of what is generally called, after Geoffrey Pullum, 'the Duke of York gambit': epenthetic vowels get inserted to be removed later on by various deletion and truncation rules, assimilations are assumed to take place but later on the resulting segment is either deleted or neutralized, etc., so that individual rules be maximally simple (general), even at the expense of fairly complicated interaction mechanisms and lengthy derivations. E.g. p. 78:

INPUT	/lőw ≠ a:tok/	/lőw ≠ tt/	/lőw ≠ uk/	/lőw ≠ m/
i-Epenthesis	i	—	i	—
i-Gliding	—	—	j	—
o-Epenthesis	—	o	—	o
Vowel Harmony	e: ö	ö	ü	ö
Epenthetic Vowel Deletion	—	θ	—	—
Vowel Truncation	θ	—	—	—
w-Compensatory Lengthening	—	ö:	ö:	—
Rounding Harmony	e	—	—	—
Abstract Glide Neutralization	v	—	—	v
OUTPUT	<i>lövtek</i>	<i>lött</i>	<i>lőjük</i>	<i>lövöm</i>

where such a suffix is followed by a harmonically alternating one, e.g. *ötödikes* 'fifth-form (pupil)', *hatodikos* 'sixth-form (pupil)').

Jensen (1972) observes that a suffix-initial (underlying) neutral vowel is never deleted after a vowel and therefore proposes a rule of Suffix Vowel Deletion which differs from Vago's Vowel Truncation in that it only deletes non-neutral (i.e. either [+ low] or [+ round]) vowels. This rule applies e.g. to /unk/ 'first person plural possessive suffix' (thus, /fa + unk/ → *fánk* 'our tree') but not to /ig/ or /e:rt/. But Jensen's analysis is invalidated by the behaviour of the suffix -ul/ül: e.g. /francia + ul/ → *franciál* 'in French', rather than **franciál* as Jensen's rule would predict.

The author also discusses various stem classes that either undergo some sort of stem alternation or have a characteristic conjugation pattern of their own. Examples of the former type are *w*-stems such as *lő* 'shoot' (from underlying /lőw/), and epenthetic stems such as *seper* 'sweep' (from underlying /šepɾ/); examples of the latter type are [IK]-stems such as *mász(ik)* 'climb' and totally irregular stems like *megy* 'go', *van* 'be', and *jön* 'come'. Finally, Vago offers some examples of the motivation of seemingly bizarre suppletions and paradigm switches; in particular, he claims that they serve the purpose of preventing phonetic representations in which the person category is ambiguous.

4. Chapter Four (91–138) deals with the declension system and stem alternations of nouns. Vago shows that most of the rules he assumed for the conjugation

system account for the nominal paradigms as well, if in a modified version. As far as the underlying shapes of case suffixes go, Vago bases his analysis on the corresponding pronominal forms (wherever such forms are available). For example, *nálam* 'at me', *nálad* 'at you' etc. and *tőlem* 'from me', *tőled* 'from you' etc. are adduced as evidence that the underlying shapes of the adessive case suffix -*nál/nél* and the ablative case suffix -*től/től* are, respectively, /na:l/ and /tö:l/. The rest of the case suffixes⁸

⁸ Vago follows Tompa (1970)'s list of cases and is therefore forced to account for the behaviour of certain suffixes that are either clearly not case endings (-*nként*,

are classified and characterized as follows:
 # -initial suffixes ('temporal' -*kor*, 'formal' -*képp(en)* and 'essive-formal' -*ként*) do not alternate harmonically and do not lengthen stem-final low vowels which other types of suffixes most regularly do; *w*-initial suffixes ('instrumental-comitative' -*val/vel* and 'translative-factive' -*vá/vé*, as well as 'causal-final' -*ért*, 'terminative' -*ig* and 'essive-modal' -*ul/ül*) are assumed to exhibit an underlying /w/ (cf. section 2. above); whereas CC-initial suffixes ('distributive' -*nként*, 'distributive-temporal' -*nta/nte* and 'associative' -*stul/stül*) require an epenthetic vowel to be inserted between themselves and consonant-final stems. Next, Vago discusses the possessive suffixes and finds deep parallelisms between these and verbal inflections. After that, the various stem classes are described: lowering stems like *ház* 'house' that take low, rather than mid, epenthetic vowels before the accusative and plural endings as well as CC-initial and (some) possessive suffixes; various kinds of *w*-stems such as *ló* 'horse' (from underlying /low/), *hó* 'snow' (from underlying /haw/), *falu* 'village' (from underlying /falw/), and *borjú* 'calf' (from underlying /borjw/); epenthetic stems like *bokor* 'shrub' (from underlying /bokr/) and *teher* 'load' (from underlying /terh/); unrounding stems like *ajtó* 'door' whose final vowel exhibits the alternation *é/e* or *ó/a*; and lengthening stems like *madár* 'bird' whose (last) vowel alternates in length.⁹ In the next subsec-

-*nta/nte*, -*stul/stül*) or not clearly case endings (-*kor*, -*ul/ül*, etc.). This abundance of cases is a harmless terminological matter until and unless it leads to the construction of non-existent forms like **botomostul* (a form that is not only freely generated by Vago's rules but also explicitly discussed on pp. 109–110).

⁹ Unfortunately, some of the data concerning non-productive paradigms are fairly inaccurate. Thus, the accusative of *szó* 'word' is claimed to be *szavat* on p. 114; later this is withdrawn: "the accusative of *szó* [...] is *szót* and not *szavat*, even though the latter was given in Table 4.8. (*szavat* is the expected form: cf. *tavat*, accusative of *tó* 'lake')" (132). The accusatives of *bokor*

tion, reflexive, personal, possessive, and demonstrative pronouns are discussed. The chapter is concluded by the indication of a regularization process going on with respect to certain stem classes that exhibit two types of paradigms: an 'original' and a 'regularized' one. It is also shown that in some cases there are certain semantic differences associated with such morphophonemic variations.¹⁰

5. As indicated at the beginning of this review, Vago provides evidence relevant to three current theoretical problems of generative phonology. Of these, the 'abstractness controversy' centres around the question of whether it is permissible to assume abstract underlying segments in phonological descriptions. One of the most often adduced types of criticism is that this treatment denies the exceptionality of the phenomena in question (cf. Ringen 1978). The material presented in Vago's book suggests two kinds of refutations of this crit-

'shrub', *teher* 'load', *pehely* 'fluff' and *kehely* 'chalice' allegedly alternate: *bokrot/bokort*, *terhet/teher*, *pehelyt/pehelyt* and *kehelyt/kehelyt* (117–119), though in fact only the first of each pair is acceptable. The 3sg possessive of *hid* 'bridge' is said to be *hida* (121), whereas in actual fact it is *hidja* (though it used to be *hida* as place-names with that ending suggest). Vago further claims (131–132) that *lovam* 'my horse' etc. is being regularized into *lóm*, *lód*, *lója*, *lónk*, *lótók*, *lójuk*; *szavam* 'my word' etc. into *szóm*, *szód*, *szója*, *szónk*, *szótók*, *szójuk*; *sátram* 'my tent' etc. into *sátorom*, *sátorod*, *sátor(j)a*, *sátorunk*, *sátorotok*, *sátor(j)uk*; as well as *szatyrom* 'my bag' etc. into *szatyrom*, *szatyrod*, *szatyorja*, *szatyorunk*, *szatyorotok* and *szatyorjuk*. These are simply non-existent 'alternatives'.

¹⁰ Examples of this kind could be multiplied at will: *fia* 'his/her son' vs. *fiúja* 'her boyfriend', *tővig* 'completely' (in certain expressions) vs. *tőig* 'as far as the stem', *leve* 'its juice' vs. *léje* 'his [e.g. cook's] soup/sauce', *keble* 'her bosom' vs. *kebele* as in a *bizottság kebelén belül* 'within (the powers of) the committee', *ajtaja* 'its [e.g. room's] door; the door of his room' vs. *ajtója* 'his door [e.g. the door he has just made]', etc. (The last example is included among those given by Vago but with a slight mistake in interpretation.)

icism. First, as Vago points out elsewhere, setting up abstract underlying segments is in fact a sort of exception mechanism and therefore captures, rather than conceals, the exceptionality of the phenomena concerned (Vago 1978). Second, and more importantly, the cases in the present book where Vago resorts to this descriptive device seem to exhibit a kind of regularity of their own, i.e., though not absolutely in keeping with the gross principles the language is based on, they are far from being unpredictable; thus, alternatives to the abstract analysis are inadequate in that their solutions count as *ad hoc* by comparison with the relative regularity of the phenomena to be described.

Turning now to the second theoretical issue, let us consider a case where Vago's analysis supports the claim that the strong position that languages may not contain extrinsic rule ordering restrictions cannot be maintained. The present book discusses numerous cases of rule pairs whose counter-feeding or mutual bleeding interaction must be stated extrinsically (cf. also Vago 1977, Coates 1982). Here is an example.

We enumerated in section 2. above a set of suffixes that are underlyingly *w*-initial. One of the motivations for setting up underlying shapes like /we:rt/ was that such suffixes fail to undergo the rule of Vowel Truncation:¹¹

(3) $V \rightarrow \emptyset / V \text{ — }$

After blocking the application of Vowel Truncation, the /w/ is deleted by the following rule:

(4) $w \rightarrow \emptyset / + \text{ — } \begin{bmatrix} V \\ - \text{ low} \end{bmatrix}$

¹¹ Forms that undergo this rule include /fa:≠unk/ → *fánk* 'our tree', /ne:z≠ne: + unk/ → *néznénk* 'we would look at it', /tör≠ia/ → *tőri* 'he breaks it', etc. (where ≠ represents 'stem boundary' and the forms between slants are intermediate, rather than underlying, representations). Examples of the non-application of (3) before *w*-initial suffixes: /fa:≠we:rt/ → *fáért* 'for (the) tree', **fárt*; /hajo:≠wig/ → *hajógig* 'as far as (the) ship', **hajóg*.

However, (4) would feed (3), and therefore the intrinsic ordering principles predict the wrong result in this case. In fact, (3) does not apply to the output of (4). This counter-feeding order must be specified extrinsically.

The third theoretical issue is the conflict between theories of linear vs. local ordering. The theory of local ordering, proposed by Stephen R. Anderson, claims that phonological rules cannot be ordered in a linear list but are not totally unordered (i.e. ordered by universal principles) either: they are pairwise ordered. In the volume under review, Vago presents a number of instances where three rules are ordered so that one precedes another, the second precedes a third one, and the third precedes the first; these so-called 'ordering paradoxes' constitute evidence in favour of the local ordering theory.

6. Though a few important monographs (especially F. Papp's excellent *A magyar főnév paradigmatis rendszere* [1975]) and papers (e.g. Lotz 1972, Mel'čuk 1973) are missing both from the list of references and from among the sources Vago seems to have actually consulted, *The Sound Pattern of Hungarian* is a thorough and highly interesting elaboration of its topic. Its faults (apart from occasional slips of pen and/or memory) are mainly inherent in the general framework: classical (or, as it is now sometimes called: 'orthodox') generative phonology, whereas most of its merits are Vago's own. (The book also has the additional advantage that it reads well.)

Generative phonology of the kind represented by this book has recently come under increasing attack on the grounds of psychological implausibility, and there is certainly some force in these criticisms. It is important to point out, however, that no alternative paradigm has so far proved to be anywhere nearly as comprehensive, coherent and internally consistent, and that proposed modifications have not been worked out in detail. Consequently, 'orthodox' generative phonology is the best

(recent) theory available. Robert M. Vago's book, in turn, can also be justly criticized on several counts: it has a certain amount (not a great deal) of poor data; it is in places relatively superficial and fails to account for certain tendencies and common-sense insights; but as regards the ability to deal in an up-to-date and theoretically well-supported way with a very large body of material concerning the sound pattern of Hungarian, Vago's contribution ranks among the most valuable achievements of recent years. Particular points will of course need improving. But this is a book that subsequent research cannot afford to ignore.

P. Siptár

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- László Dezső (ed.): *Contrastive Studies Hungarian—English*. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest, 1982 122 pp.

The book reviewed here is the second volume of a new series *Studia Comparationis Linguae Hungaricae* edited by György Szépe. This volume contains six contrastive studies covering a variety of topics ranging from derivation to stress assignment rules, as well as an introductory chapter on English-Hungarian contrastive research in Hungary.

In the opening chapter László Dezső puts the history of English-Hungarian

contrastive research in the wider context of the development of English linguistics in Hungary. He stresses that the first English-Hungarian contrastive linguistics project, which was organized at the initiative and under the general guidance of John Lotz in the early seventies, provided a great impetus to the field of English linguistics in Hungary, which was relatively undeveloped at that time. After a historical overview of the field, Dezső outlines how the results of contrastive studies should be integrated in the comprehensive reform of the education system that is now being introduced at all levels in Hungary. In discussing the relevance of other fields, notably typology and psycholinguistics, to contrastive analysis, he notes that "unfortunately, not much has been done in the field of psycholinguistics and the psychology of learning from the aspect of foreign language teaching in general, and particularly in Hungary." The chapter is followed by a useful bibliography listing all the Hungarian-English contrastive studies that appeared in English in Hungary.

József Csapó's study "English denominal adjectives and their Hungarian equivalents" discusses the semantic relationships obtaining between the derivative suffixes and the noun stems concerned. As data for the analysis Csapó chooses dictionary definitions from Webster's Third New International Dictionary, because, as he notes, most of them are abbreviated sentences containing a verbal expression and a complement. This complement most often includes the very noun that serves as a stem for the denominal adjective. The verbal expression is held to reflect the semantic function of the derivative suffix. As a typical example consider *icy* which is defined as 'covered with ice' and thus 'covered with' is seen as the semantic function of the suffix. Obviously, this dependence on the surface form of dictionary definitions excludes cases where the given definition does not conform to the above pat-

tern: *icy*, for example, is also defined on one reading as 'intensively cold' by the same dictionary mentioned above.

On the basis of the meanings of the verbs found in the dictionary definitions Csapó establishes the following semantic classes of denominal adjectives formed from concrete mass noun stems: (1) HAVING (greasy, windy); (2) COMPOSED OF (dusty, hairy); (3) CHARACTERISED BY (chilly, misty); (4) RESEMBLING (stony, metallic); (5) AFFECTED BY (rainy, dusty); (6) PRODUCING (noisy, metallic); (7) DERIVED FROM (carbonic). Within each groups further divisions are made. By way of illustration, HAVING is broken down to (a) 'abounding in' (airy) (b) 'abounding with' (filthy); (c) 'containing' (metallic); (d) 'covered by' (rusty); (e) 'covered with' (rusty) etc. The paper proceeds to discuss an impressive if not overwhelming amount of data in terms of these categories.

Unfortunately, no definition is offered for any of these categories. When it comes to such subtle semantic distinctions as the one presumed between *abounding in* and *abounding with*, held to be non-existent by Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English, an appeal to the reader's intuitive understanding of these terms is not likely to be helpful. Even if treated as semantic primitive of some sort, these categories do not seem to be handled in a consistent way. For example, the 'CHARACTERIZED BY' relation is stated to be a special case of the 'HAVING' relation, whereas earlier it has been listed as a category on equal footing with HAVING (see list above).

The analysis of Hungarian seems to be subordinated to the English framework as some sort of an illustrative appendage. On p. 26 for example, three sets of compounds are set up on semantic grounds. Pattern (i) includes *salt cellar* — *sótartó coffee cup* — *kávészészke* as representing the semantic relation of 'keep' 'store' 'confine' 'house'. To account for the morphological difference among the Hungarian examples (i.e. *só-tartó* contains an unsuffixed form *só-*

whereas *kávésceésze* includes the suffixed form *kávés-)* *sótartó* is questionably assigned to pattern iii of the meaning 'get', 'obtain', 'derive' on the grounds that "it denotes a container from which salt can be acquired when needed."

Despite the commendably wide range of data involved in the analysis, the conclusions are disappointingly vague. The statement that "Meanings typically expressed in English by derived adjectives can typically be conveyed in Hungarian in roughly the same manner." is not at all untypical of the findings listed at the end of the study.

The paper by Katalin É. Kiss "Hungarian and English: A topic-focus prominent language and a subject prominent language" is the most important theoretical contribution to this volume. É. Kiss notes that there is increasing recent evidence that the sentence structure of some languages are organised primarily in terms of topic-focus structure, which she calls communicative patterning, rather than in the subject-predicate dichotomy. The notions of topic, comment and focus are defined mostly on syntactic grounds as follows: The topic is an optional sentence initial nominal and/or adverbial element which is also seen as having the semantic communicative function of conveying contextually or anaphorically known information. The comment is whatever follows a topic and it can be either the verb or any of its arguments that have not been foregrounded in the topic. A topicless sentence is structurally equivalent to the comment. The focus is defined as the sentence constituent occupying the leftmost position in the comment carrying the sentence stress.

É. Kiss shows that communicative patterning is realised differently in the two languages. The basic difference is that English basic sentence types are defined in terms of subject and predicate and whenever the rules of subject selection would clash with communicative patterning (the subject would be different from the element foregrounded as known or given infor-

mation) a whole series of transformation such as passivisation, extraposition, raising etc. would reorganise the sentence so that the topic would surface in subject position. The basic Hungarian sentence type, on the other hand, is defined by an optional topic and the obligatory focus as the initial element of the comment. The initial structure is represented by the verb followed by its arguments in free order and the surface structure is derived through the two basic transformations Focussing and Topicalization.

In the rest of the paper É. Kiss demonstrates the usefulness of this approach in the analysis of secondarily derived sentence types, pronominalization, raising etc. The phenomena discussed are claimed also to raise important doubts on the universality of some conditions on transformation which involve the notion of subject such as the Specified Subject Condition.

The connection between the syntactic and semantic-communicative criteria for topic selection sometimes appears to be rather tenuous. It is hard to see, for example, in what sense anticipatory *it* or *there* in the examples below, taken from pp. 46-47, represent "given or known" information.

It is difficult to cut with this knife.
There is a cat sitting in the garden.

For our immediate purposes, the importance of the paper lies in the fact that it provides a principled framework for the analysis of Hungarian sentence structure — often the weak point in Hungarian-English contrastive studies.

Béla Korponay's brief study "A double-faced case category" provides a semantic analysis of the "double faced" case category of *causalis-finalis* in English and Hungarian. The analysis is limited to nouns marked with the case ending *-ÉRT* in Hungarian and phrases with the preposition *FOR* in English. Although Korponay notes that causal relationship is expressed by a variety of prepositions in English, he limits the English data to

prepositional phrases with *FOR*, arguing that they are what underlie the Hungarian nouns or nominal groups marked for *causalis-finalis* by the suffix *-ÉRT*. On the other hand, he himself notes that *-ÉRT* is not the only formal means of expressing *causalis-finalis* in Hungarian: it can be expressed by the postpositions *MIATT*, *UTÁN*, the case ending *-RA* and the accusative. Given the diversity of formal means of expressing cause and purpose in either language, as well as the fact that apart from some cases of ambiguity the overwhelming majority of examples express either cause or purpose but not both at the same time, one wonders what remains of the "double-faced" nature of this category as a deep case category.

The data used include a plethora of English sentences without a compensating amount of Hungarian examples except in the case diagrams.

In his conclusions Korponay urges the teacher to pay more attention to the similarities and warns against emphasizing the differences between ways of expression in the two languages as it develops "inhibitions" in the learner. Besides suggesting a somewhat oversimplified view on how the findings of contrastive analyses should be used in the classroom, this position inevitably appears to put the cart before the horse on the question of the origin of learners' difficulties.

Ádám Nádasdy's paper "Relative pronouns in English and Hungarian" traces the difficulties Hungarian learners of English face in mastering the use of relative clauses to an interplay of two factors: traditional treatment of relative pronouns in pedagogic grammars and native language transfer.

A notable feature of Nádasdy's analysis of the relevant Hungarian facts is that he considers two different registers of Hungarian as possible sources of interference. On the basis of Literary Hungarian learners would overuse *who* and *which* in contexts where they would appear to be

archaic or too literary and would unintentionally use non-restrictive relative clauses even where a restrictive clause is called for. Educated Colloquial Hungarian, which is defined to be the learners' "real mother tongue" would push the learners towards the analogy with the interrogative pronouns *who* and *what*—an interference that is further supported by internal transfer from the target language in the form of the independent relative.

Nádasdy gives a precise list of predictions about the use of relative pronouns by Hungarian learners of English (not limited to overt errors at all) and includes suggestions for specific teaching objectives. This paper stands out from the collection by the attention it devotes to the learner and the acquisition process.

Éva Staphanides-Diósy's study "The generic use of the article in English and Hungarian" completes her comprehensive investigations of the article.

Genericness is seen as created by the interplay of syntactic and semantic rules. The paper first surveys the grammatical means of expressing genericness in the two languages and discusses the subtle differences between quantifiers and articles in generic use. Articles expressing genericness are discussed from a variety of viewpoints: according to semantic features of the noun head (countable/uncountable/abstract); sentence type in which generic NP's are used (definitional/analytical/non-definitional/comparative). All the points are carefully illustrated with transparent examples from both languages. Although specific predictions are not included as such, the illustrative examples are set forth in a manner clear enough for the reader to formulate them.

László Varga's brief paper "Differences in the stressing of re-used nouns in English and Hungarian" takes up the question of stress placement in dialogue exchanges. More specifically, it compares the stressing of re-used nouns i.e. nouns used for the second time in declarative response sentences.

Varga discusses in detail two cases in both of which the sentence stress is carried by the surface exponent of the old nouns in Hungarian and the verb in English. In the first instance, there is no contrast involved in the noun, so the non-contrasted new verb (the presumed deep candidate for sentence stress) surfaces in English with the sentence stress, whereas in Hungarian, the sentence stress is assigned to the re-used noun. This is seen as the result of a posited "phrasal verb formation" rule, which moves the noun (or any non-verb element) ahead of the verb, thereby blocking the surfacing of the sentence stress on the verb. In the second case the re-used noun carries an implicit contrast and thus becomes the deep candidate for sentence stress. Now it is Hungarian that reflects the deep conditions for sentence stress placement more directly and in English an "implicit contrast deletion" transformation is presumed to block the surfacing of sentence stress on the contrasted noun.

One feels that the study could have benefited from bringing the theoretical framework proposed by É. Kiss to bear on the issue at hand. As Varga is surely aware, the notion of the phrasal verb (a unit consisting of "a non-verb followed by a verb" which is formed "on some inherent semantic properties") is very vague. The notion of focus and the hierarchy of elements available for focussing seem to be of much relevance here.

As a result of its early exaggerated claims the field of contrastive linguistics entered into a period of relative neglect in the middle sixties. However, more recent research on language acquisition, including both first and second language acquisition, has redemonstrated the relevance of the meticulous comparison of the structures of the second language learners' native and target languages. Despite the fact that Hungarian-English contrastive linguistics can look back on a decade of research under the guidance of such linguists as John Lotz, William Nemser and László

Dezső, it seems not to have drawn the full implications of new developments in the field. Nevertheless, one confidently hopes that these papers will provide further impetus to a more inclusive study of the acquisition of English by Hungarians.

T. Váradi

Nancy J. Schmidt (ed.): Anthropological Literature — An Index to Periodical Articles and Essays. Volume I. No. 1. Winter 1979.

Tozzer Library, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology

The least known works of the anthropological literature, which are growing larger and larger at a very high rate all over the world, are the collections of studies, special publications, collected works which are being recorded by the bibliographies under one heading only. We know though that the monographs cannot deal with everything and the periodicals—because of their profile—have to turn down many papers representing real scientific value. On the other hand, the special and festschrift-publications are increasingly becoming the storehouses and shopwindows of up-to-date reports presenting 'hot' results. Periodicals systematically publish thematic issues, annuals become periodicals and vice versa, museums publish complete series. The results contained in these publications cannot be gathered from the special bibliographies either, which are of insufficient quantity and quality anyway. The library of one of the best ethnological museums of the world has now launched a series that systematizes just this kind of material. The first quarterly issue of this publication contains 2387 data divided into five groups (Cultural and Social Anthropology — Archaeology — Biological and Physical Anthropology — Linguistics — General Method and Theory). The authors

are enumerated in alphabetical order within each group. This way it was sufficient to provide the indices of the co-authors, of the archeological cultures, of the people and languages at the end of the volume.

The publication contains also European, Soviet and even Hungarian data, though these data are very scarce: they are far from being complete.

W. Voigt

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Lakoff, G.—Peters, P. S.: Phrasal conjunction and symmetric predicates. In: Reibel, D.—Schane, S. (eds): Modern Studies in English. Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs 1969, 113-141.

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(1) (a)	A	sólymaid	elszálltak
	the	falcon-gen-pl-2sg	away-flew-3pl
	'Your falcons have flown away'.		

Examples can be referred to in the text as (1a), (1a-d), etc.

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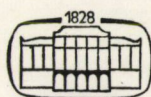
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ZUR GESCHICHTE DES UNGARTUMS VOR DER LANDNAHME IM ZUSAMMENHANG MIT *LEVED* UND *ETELKÖZ*

Von
L. BENKŐ

1. Gy. Moravcsik schreibt im Vorwort zur kritischen Textausgabe von „*De administrando imperio*“ des Konstantinos Porphyrogenetos („*Bíborban-született Konstantin: A birodalom kormányzása*“). Budapest 1950) u. a.: „...die Forscher der ungarischen Urgeschichte werden gewiß immer wieder zu dem im Werk Kaiser Konstantins (der Purpurborenen) enthaltenen Berichtsmaterial zurückgreifen müssen und werden im Besitze neuer Methoden und neuer Gesichtspunkt in der Zukunft noch um einiges mehr herauslesen können, als bisher ihnen geglückt war“ (42). Moravcsik hat gleich von zwei Seiten den gegenwärtigen Stand und die Aufgaben der ungarischen Urgeschichtsforschung richtig erkannt. Einerseits sah er genau, daß unter den schriftlichen Quellen der ungarischen Geschichte vor der und um die Zeit der Landnahme dem Konstantinschen Werk der Rang des Grundwerks gebührt, da es für den betreffenden Zeitraum die meisten, konkretesten und — vermöge der von ihm zitierten ungarischen Sprecher als wahrhafte damalige Gewährsmänner — gerade für die ungarische Sprachgeschichte die authentischsten Informationen liefert. Der hohe Quellenwert dieses Dokuments wird dadurch nicht geschmälert, daß freilich — im Zeichen der komplexen Erforschung der einschlägigen sonstigen Quellen — bestimmte Ergänzungen und Entgeghaltungen unbedingt nötig sind, vor allem in Bezug auf die nicht minder wichtigen mohammedanischen Quellen, aber auch bei gewissen Einzelheiten, für welche die von unserer Thematik her — wenngleich zweitrangigen — ungarischen und nicht-ungarischen Gesten und Chroniken manche Hinweise und Belege enthalten. Andererseits erinnert er treffend daran, daß der kaiserliche Text noch weiterer, vielseitiger Analysen mit neuen Denkansätzen und Methoden bedarf, und komplexe, interdisziplinäre Untersuchungen zu wünschen lassen.

Seit dieser Feststellung Gy. Moravcsiks sind natürlich mehr als drei Jahrzehnte verflossen, und in die ungarischen Urgeschichtsforschungen haben, in nicht geringem Maße gerade auch auf das Werk des Kaisers Konstantinos gestützt, eine Fülle wertvoller Resultate und neuer Erkenntnisse gezeitigt. Die meisten Streitfragen und Themen sind aber — auch durch die Natur der Problematik und des Quellengutes bedingt — auch bis heute noch nicht erledigt, ja, die Forschungen haben manchmal einander ziemlich widersprechende Auffassungen zu Tage gefördert. Die zu weiteren Forschungen

in diesem Zusammenhang ermunternden Worte Moravcsiks haben daher noch immer volle Gültigkeit, indem sie eine wiederholte Auswertung der in Betracht kommenden Quellen der ungarischen Urgeschichte, darunter also zur eingehenden Analyse der Abhandlung „De administrando imperio“ auffordern.

Die schriftlichen Quellen der Geschichte des Ungartums aus der Zeit vor der Landnahme gaben gewiß auch der Sprachwissenschaft ein schönes Stück Arbeit. Und doch kommt man nicht umhin zu sagen: ein beträchtlicher Teil der auf diesem Forschungsfeld erzielten Leistungen liegt schon einige Jahrzehnte hinterher; ihre Feststellungen sind — dem damaligen Stand der Sprachwissenschaft gemäß — noch nicht im Geiste und mit der Methodik der modernen Linguistik entstanden, und sind oft nicht gehörig begründet, nicht bis zur letzten Konsequenz durchgedacht. Solche Feststellungen fanden aber auch Eingang in andere Disziplinen, die mit der Urgeschichte des Ungartums zu tun haben, und wurden so auch Quellen weiterer Ungewißheiten. Darum kann auch die historische Sprachwissenschaft — und des näheren die geschichtliche Namenskunde — der Pflicht einer abermaligen Vertiefung in die schriftlichen Quellen der ungarischen Urgeschichte nicht entgehen, mit dem Anspruch auf eine kritische Bewertung der bisherigen linguistischen Ergebnisse wie auch auf neue, eingehendere Analysen. Diese Notwendigkeit gab auch den Anstoß zur vorliegenden Studie — ihrem Titel gemäß vor allem auf eine Untersuchung des Konstantinos-Textes aufgebaut, jedoch wegen damit zusammenhängenden Fragen auch anderweitiges Quellenmaterial berührend. Ein wie immer beschränkter Beitrag kann natürlich nicht einmal alle sprachwissenschaftlichen Probleme dieses byzantinischen Schriftwerkes behandeln. Aus diesem Grunde möchte ich meine Bemerkungen an solche Fragenkomplexe knüpfen, die sich auf die Lokalisierung und die Chronologie von Leved und Etelköz beziehen, aber auch hierbei möchte ich mich bloß auf eine eher mosaikartige Folge von herausgegriffenen Einzelfragen beschränken, was am Ende vielleicht doch ein einheitliches System von Teilresultaten ergeben wird.

Eingangs möchte ich noch bemerken, daß ich in meinen Ausführungen ehrlich bemüht war, bei der Bewertung der Quellentexte — auch angesichts ihrer teilweise unleugbaren Widersprüche und Unklarheiten — ihren Inhalt weitgehend zu achten — auch im Sinne jener Autoren (Czeglédy, Károly: MNyTK. No. 140. 55—8; Kristó, Gyula: Levedi törzsszövetségétől Szent István államáig [Vom Stammesverband Levedis bis zum Staat Sankt Stefans]. Budapest 1980, 23—8), nach deren Ansicht die übertriebene Textkritik, eine hyperkritische Einstellung fruchtlos werden kann und nirgendshin führt.

2. *Lēved* und *Etelköz* im System der ungarischen Namensgebung. — Für unser Thema wird sich — wie wir sehen werden — gleich bei mehreren Eigen-

namen eine Analyse wichtig erweisen (was auch erfolgen wird); den Namen *Lëved* und *Etëlköz* gebührt aber auch unter diesen ein außerordentlicher Platz. Und zwar nicht nur darum, weil diese beiden Namen in dem behandeltem Thema — das vor allem mit der Bestimmung der durch diese Namen repräsentierten topographischen und chronologischen Daten zu tun hat — eben diesen Namen eine zentrale Bedeutung hat. U. a. auch darum, weil unter sämtlichen in Betracht kommenden Eigennamen nur diese zwei (bzw. — wenn man bei *Lëved* einen Personen- und einen Ortsnamen unterscheidet — drei) solche Namen sind, welche das damalige Ungartum nicht nur gekannt und benützt hat, sondern die Produkte primärer ungarischer Wortschöpfung, ungarischer Namengebung sind.

A) Der im 38. Kapitel von Konstantin mehrmals vorkommende Personennamen *λεβεδίας* und Ortsnamen *λεβεδία* bergen genau ein und dieselbe ungarischen Wortform in sich; hinter der Unterschiedlichkeit des lexikalisch-semanticischen Inhalts gibt es also im Ungarischen keinen phonetischen und morphologischen Unterschied. M. a. W. im damaligen Ungarisch werden beide Eigennamen *Lëbedi* gelautet haben, was im heutigen Ungarisch natürlich der Form *Lëved* (*Leved*) entspricht. Die Formgleichheit der funktionsmäßig zweierlei Namen findet eine mehrseitige Bestätigung: der Hinweis des Kaisers auf das Zusammengehören der beiden Namen, die Beachtung der teilweise verschiedenartig gräzisierungsendungen (s. dazu Gyóni, Mátyás: *A magyar nyelv görög feljegyzéses szórványemlékei* [Die griechisch aufgezeichneten Einzelsprachdenkmäler des Ungarischen]. Budapest 1943, 78—82), die systembedingten Besonderheiten des Zusammenhanges zwischen Personennamen und Ortsnamen im Ungarischen — und das Etymon des Namens selbst. Denn was letzteres anbelangt, gilt ja schon lang als geklärt, daß dieser Name mit dem ungarischen Seins-Verb zusammenhängt (erstens s. Jakubovich: MNy. XXIV, 229—30). Hier müßte man zunächst nur darauf hinweisen, daß das Grundwort vor dem Namenbildungssuffix *-d* (< altung. *-di*) nicht der hypothetische, jedoch unnachweisbare nomenverbumartige Stamm von *lész* ist (vgl. Pais: MNy. XLIX, 292, LII, 140), sondern das alte Präsenspartizip *lëß* — mit einem Stammendlaut: *lëßß* — des Verbs *lész* (Futurum des Verbs *van* 'sein'); ein genaues Gegenstück zu den entsprechenden Formen der späteren Partizipe *vő*, *tő* (*kesztyű*), *hű*, *tű* aus der urungarischen Zeit (s. Bárczi: MNy. L, 377—8). Den zweiten Vokal des Namens darf man daher — als regelmäßigen Stamm- auslaut — nicht für ein *é* halten, wie es viele taten und auch noch tun (vgl. die auch aus anderem Grund unrichtige Form *Lebédia*). Daß es sich um ein gesichertes Etymon handelt, bezeugen reichlich morphologische und semantische Analogien im onomastischen System der Arpadenzeit, ja es gibt sogar einen vollkommen identischen Beleg im DömAd.: *Lewedi*; vgl. noch ebd. *Leue*, 1237—1240: *Leue* usw.; heute: *Levő* 'Seiende'.

B) Der griechische Kaiser wiedergibt den zweiten besonders wichtigen

Eigennamen unseres Themas im 38. Kapitel in der Form *Ἀτελκούζον*, im 40. Kapitel *Ἐτέλ καὶ Κουζοῦ*. Bei der ersten Variante steckt hinter der griechisch geschriebenen Form ein phonetisch, morphologisch und lexikalisch gleichermaßen äquivalentes ungarisches Wort (s. Gyóni a. a. O. 21—3). Die Wichtigkeit der zweiten Variante liegt hauptsächlich darin, daß der Kaiser bei ihrer Niederschrift auf die Beziehung des Ortsnamens zu einem Flußnamen verwiesen hat, was schließlich auch in der morphologisch „verzerrten“ Form zum Ausdruck kommt. Den Namen werden die einstigen Ungarn nämlich *Etëlküzü* ausgesprochen haben, was im heutigen Ungarisch der Form *Etëlköz* (*Etelköz*) gleichkommt (*köz* = 'Zwischenraum, Zwischenland'). Die aus zwei Stammorphemen gebildete Konstruktion ist eine echte Zusammensetzung — u. zw. eine possessivische — die in eine sehr vielzählige Gruppe der ungarischen Landschaftsnamen genau hineinpaßt (s. darüber weiter unten). Von den zwei Gliedern der Zusammensetzung bedarf aus etymologischer Hinsicht bloß das erste, *Etël* einer Erläuterung, umso mehr, da dieses Element die für unser Thema wichtige — und deshalb noch ausführlicher zu erörternde — Problematik der vollen toponymischen Zusammensetzung erheblich mitbestimmt.

Das auch aufgrund des Hinweises von Konstantin offenbar einen Fluß bezeichnende Vorderglied *Etël* war zwar ganz gewiß ein dem damaligen Ungarum geläufiges sprachliches Element, sein Etymon läßt sich allerdings aus dem Ungarischen nicht herleiten. Schon frühere Autoren hatten geklärt, daß hier eine Identität mit den Eigennamen *Etel*, *Etil*, *Ezil*, *Idil*, *Itil*, *Idel*, *Izel*, *Adël*, *Ädel*, *Ädil*, *Ätil*, usw. vorliegt — alle Namen, unter welchen unzählige Flüsse in Ost- und Ost-Südeuropa belegt wurden (s. z. B.: Gombocz: NyK. XLV, 183—4; EtSz.; Melich: MNy. XXII, 346, XXIV, 85, KCsA. II, 237; Németh: MSFOu. LXVIII, 239; Słownik Starożytności Słowiańskich. Wrocław—Warszawa—Kraków 1961, I, 53, II, 298). Zu bemerken ist noch, daß — von den in anderen Quellen vorkommenden Formvarianten aus demselben etymologischen Bereich jetzt abgesehen — der Kaiser (im 37. Kapitel) selbst auch einen eigenen Flußnamen *Ἀτῆλ* erwähnt, der aber nur seinem Etymon nach mit dem *Etël* des *Etëlköz* etwas gemein hat.

Da jedoch diese Namen im älteren und zum Teil späteren bis gegenwärtigen Siedlungsraum der Turkvölker vorkommen, ist kaum daran zu zweifeln, daß ihr Ursprung in den Türksprachen zu suchen ist. Über diese allgemeine Feststellung hinausgehend muß man aber für die gleichen Gewässernamen verschiedene Herkunftsmöglichkeiten annehmen. Es kann nämlich auch so gewesen sein, daß ein türkisches Wort — ein Gattungsname — wie *etel*, *itil* u. ä. fallweise, unabhängig voneinander zum Eigennamen verschiedener Flüsse geworden war. Daß in den alttürkischen Sprachen ein solches Wort existiert hat, geht nicht nur aus den häufigen Gewässernamen hervor, sondern aus der Tatsache, daß im Kasan-Tatarischen und Tschagataischen ein solches Element auch mit der Bedeutung 'Fluß' nachweisbar ist; vgl. noch

tschag. *ädilčä*, *ädilčik* 'Flüßchen' (s.: EtSz.; Melich: KCsA. III, 237; vgl. noch Czeglédy: MNy. XLI, 48—9). Einige Ungewißheit ergibt sich dadurch, daß in solchen Fällen auch eine sekundäre Entwicklung zum Gattungsnamen mit im Spiele war; vgl. z. B. ung. *duna* 'großes Gewässer, Hochwasser' (ÚMTsz.). — Es wäre aber auch ein Eigenname als Ausgangsform denkbar, indem der ursprüngliche Eigenname eines großen Flusses oder Stromes zur Benennung anderer Flüsse benützt wird, u. zw. entweder dadurch, daß innerhalb eines Stromsystems der Name des einen Flusses auf einen anderen übertragen wird, oder dadurch, daß ihre Siedlungsgebiete ändernde, abwandernde Völker die Flußnamen ihrer alten Heimat auf ähnliche Gewässer ihres neuen Siedlungsgebiets übertragen. Die Toponomastik kennt für beide Typen zahllose Beispiele. Ein bekanntes Beispiel für eine solche Namensgruppe mit dem gleichen Etymon ist gerade *Don : Donez : Dnepr : Dnestr : Donau* (s. Kiss, Lajos: Földrajzi nevek etimológiai szótára [Etymologisches Wörterbuch geographischer Namen]. Budapest 1978); unter diesen ist jeder Name für sich aus einem Gattungsnamen im Sinne 'Fluß, Gewässer, Wasser' oder im Wege von Namensübertragungen entstanden, die — ein jeder für sich — auf Gattungsnamen beruhen. Auf die ungarischen Beziehungen dieser Möglichkeiten wollen wir noch zurückkehren.

C) Sowohl *Léved* wie *Etelköz* zwingen zur Beachtung jener höchstwichtigen Erkenntnis der allgemeinen Namenskunde, daß ein im kollektiven Sprachbewußtsein verwurzelter und als Tradition auch nach Verlassen des betreffenden Raumes um Bewußtsein der einstigen Bewohner noch fortlebender Ortsname nie in der kurzen Zeit von einigen Jahren entstehen kann; dazu braucht es mindestens einige Jahrzehnte mit dem ununterbrochenen Usus einer Sprachgemeinschaft (zu den ungarischen Beziehungen dieser onomasiologischen, namensphysiognomischen Frage s. meinen Beitrag in: Actes du XI^e Congrès International des Sciences Onomastiques. Sofia 1974, Bd. I, 105—10; vgl. noch Kristó a. a. O. 34). Die fraglichen zwei Ortsnamen waren vermutlich in der Sprache des ganzen Ungartums bekannt (vgl. Gombocz: NyK. XLV, 183—4), und zwar nicht nur während der Zeit, die es im *Léved* und *Etelköz* verbracht hat, sondern noch viele Jahrzehnte später, nach der Räumung dieser Wohnsitze durch das Ungartum. Konstantin selbst konnte diese auch nur von seinen ungarischen Informatoren — wahrscheinlich Termacs und Bulcsú — gehört haben können, die ja frühestens zur Zeit der Landnahme, eher aber nachher geboren waren. Irgendwann später sind diese Namen aus dem sprachlichen Bewußtsein des Ungartums freilich verschwunden; in der historiographischen Literatur — Gesten und Chroniken — sind sie vermutlich darum nicht aufzufinden. Lediglich der Flußname *Etel* ermutigt zur Annahme, daß er in den Gesten und Chroniken als ein Relikt der Überlieferungen aus der Vor-Landnahmezeit weiterlebt (s.: Gombocz: NyK. XLV, 183; EtSz.), doch bezieht er sich dort auf einen der großen Flüsse Osteuropas

— am ehesten auf die Wolga —, und hätte mit dem Fluß des Etelköz höchstens soviel zu tun, daß die Kenntnis und der Gebrauch des Namens *Etël* auch dabei mitgespielt haben dürfte, daß er längere Zeit hindurch nicht in Vergessenheit geriet.

Im Zusammenhang mit der Konstantinschen Aufzeichnung der Ortsnamen *Lëved* und *Etëlköz* lohnt es sich auch das zu beachten, daß der Kaiser diese Namen — bis auf die leicht erklärbare morphologische Ausnahme *Ἐτὲλ καὶ Κοτζοῦ* — mit auffallender Formtreue, die ungarische Namensform möglichst genau wiedergab, was gewiß die absolute onomastische Verlässlichkeit sowohl des Kaisers wie seiner Gewährsmänner bezeugt.

Zu guter Letzt sei noch im Zusammenhang mit den ungarischen Namensangaben Konstantins allgemein darauf hingewiesen, daß man diese Namen in onomasiologisch-namentypologischer Hinsicht ohne jeglich Bedenken mit der Masse der unmittelbar nach der Landnahme entstandenen ungarischen Eigennamen vergleichen kann. Es gibt nämlich nicht die mindesten Gründe zur Annahme, daß im ungarischen System der Namen und in den damit verbundenen Gepflogenheiten ein-zwei Jahrhunderte derart nennenswerte Änderungen oder gar Umwälzungen herbeigeführt hätten.

3. Der Aussagewert des Ortsnamen *Lëved*. — Daß Konstantin mit *λεβεδία* ein Toponym verewigt hat, ist nicht der Rede wert, umso realer die Frage, was für ein geographisches Gebilde er damit gemeint hat, denn das in diesem Zusammenhang sogar zweimal verwendete Wort *τόπος* 'Ort' bietet noch keinen genügenden Anhaltspunkt, wenn auch gewisse Momente darauf schließen lassen, daß es sich um ein größeres Gebiet — ein Land oder eine Provinz — handelt. Sie sind nämlich unter den mit *-ia* gebildeten griechischen bzw. gräzisierten Ländernamen angeführt (*Πατζινακία, Τουρκία, Χαζαρία, Παφλαγονία* usw.), wobei der Stammendlaut der Form *Lëbedi* mit dem griechischen Namenbildungssuffix verschmolzen wird. Auch kontextmäßig läßt ein größeres Territorium vermuten, wird es doch zuerst als Wohnsitz des „Volkes der Türken“ gemeint, das andere Mal heißt es aber, daß dieser *τόπος* von einem Fluß durchquert wird (*ἐν τούτῳ οὖν τῷ τοπῷ προορρηθέντι λεβεδία*).

A) Auf Grund des kaiserlichen Textes sowie seiner Namensform wurde der Ortsname *Lëved* als Benennung eines ausgedehnten Raumes, genauer: der einstigen Heimat des gesamten Ungartums, sozusagen von keinem der mit Thematik befaßten Forscher bezweifelt. Allein Czeglédy — der in seinen früheren Arbeiten das ebenfalls für selbstverständlich gehalten hatte — drückte sich neuerdings etwas differenzierter aus (MNYTK. Nr. 140. 53; vgl. noch I. OK. V, 275). Daraus nämlich, daß er diesen Ort als den Fürstensitz Leveds bezeichnet, und ihn im Kerngebiet zu lokalisieren glaubt, könnte man folgern, daß er das Besitztum Leveds für wesentlich kleiner als das Siedlungsgebiet des gesamten Ungartums hält. Der ursprüngliche, in der Sprache des

einstigen Ungartums vorhandene Bedeutungskreis wird aber wahrscheinlich noch enger gewesen sein.

Da Konstantin hier solche Eigennamen registriert hat, die ungarischen Ursprungs sind und die er aus dem Mund von Ungarn gehört hat, darf man die ursprüngliche Eigenart des Namens nur in seiner Beziehung zu dem System der ungarischen Ortsnamensgebung beurteilen. Jedoch solche Ortsnamen, die auf bloße Personennamen zurückgehen — wie auch *Léved* — haben im onomastischen System des Ungarischen nie ein Land oder einen Landesteil bezeichnet, nicht einmal irgendein mehr oder weniger ausgedehntes Gebiet, sondern immer nur eine enger umgrenzte Niederlassung bzw. Siedlung. Eindeutig beweisen das viele, im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert im ungarischen Sprachraum aus einfachen Personennamen entstandene Ortsnamen (*Csanád, Tétény, Gyula, Jutas, Tevel, Solt* usw.). Da diese Tatsache auch früheren Deutern des Ortsnamens *Léved* — unter ihnen dem auch als Namensforscher hervorragenden Melich — gewiß bekannt war, suchten sie nach etwaigen Analogien für den Funktionswandel eines Personennamens zur Benennung eines Landesteils bzw. Landes. Mit wenig, besser gesagt mit überhaupt keinem Erfolg. Das von Jakubovich (MNY. XIV, 229) unter Berufung auf Pauler angeführte Beispiele *Nogaj-stkság* — Nogai-Ebene — beruht nicht auf einem Personennamen, sondern auf einem Volksnamen. Der eine „Beweis“, der Inselname *Csepel* fällt darum aus — wie ich schon nachgewiesen habe (s. MNY. LXII, 134—46, 292—305) — weil er aus einem Gattungsnamen zum Eigennamen geworden war; als zweites Argument bringt er — in Anlehnung an Németh — die Analogie der Siedlungsgebieten der Petscheneggen aus dem 10. Jahrhundert, die wiederum auf den Stammesnamen zurückgehen (vgl. Németh: MNY. XVIII, 2—7). Von der „klaren Beispielen“ Gy. Némeths (*A honfoglaló magyarság kialakulása* [Die Entstehung des Ungartums der Landnahme]. Budapest 1930, 67) ist das eine das *Akkaga* des Menandros — übrigens wahrscheinlich eher ein Gewässernamen — mit mehr als dubiosen Erklärungen aus antiken Sagen, das andere wäre gerade das zu beweisende *Léved*. Gyóni (a. a. O. 81) wiederholt die ersteren mit unbeschwert-kritikloser Gewißheit. Im Falle des Ortsnamens *Léved* haben freilich auch weniger falsche fremdsprachliche Analogien nicht viel Wert, weil ja hier nur ungarischen Analogien überzeugend wären. Im Ungarischen gibt es aber nur ein einziges Exempel für das — übrigens einen ganz anderen morphologischen Typ darstellende — Verhältnis Personennamen → topographischer Namen: *Mátyusföldje* (1402 *Mathywsfewlde*: ZsigmOkl. II/1, 179; mitgeteilt von D. Juhász), eine Variante **Mátyus* ist aber nicht einmal als sekundäre Rückbildung bisher zu Vorschein gekommen.

Den Ortsnamen *Léved* darf man also durchaus nicht als Heimatbezeichnung des Gesamtungartums vor der Landnahme deuten. Das *Léved* des kaiserlichen Autors dürfte in der Sprache des damaligen Ungartums, aber wohl auch der

Informatoren des Kaisers nur den engeren Herrschersitz, vermutlich das Winterquartier bezeichnet haben. Eine andere Frage ist allerdings, warum der Kaiser in seiner Beschreibung den Geltungskreis dieses Namens ausgedehnt hat. Als Antwort bieten sich mehrere Möglichkeiten: daß ihn das Primat des „Woiwoden“ Leved unter den ungarischen Stammesfürsten beeinflußt hat; daß die grammatische Einfügung des ungarischen Ortsnamen in das griechische Namenssystem den Eindruck eines Ländernamens erweckte; weil er den Bericht seiner ungarischen Gewährsmänner mißverstanden hat (worin wahrscheinlich auch die Kommunikation mit Hilfe von Dolmetschern mitgespielt hat) usw. — Da läßt sich angesichts der Würde Leveds als eines „ersten Woiwoden“ vielleicht auch ohne besondere Kühnheit annehmen, daß sein — gleichfalls *Lēved* benannter — Fürstensitz innerhalb der übrigen ungarischen Stammesländer gelegen sein konnte, möglicherweise im Zentralgebiet des ungarischen Siedlungsraumes. Eines steht jedenfalls sicher: die geographische Bestimmung des *Lēved* genannten Ortes liefert indirekt auch einen wertvollen Anhaltspunkt zur Lokalisierung des Siedlungsraumes des ganzen Ungartums.

B) Der Ortsname *Lēved* birgt auch chronologische Aufschlüsse in sich, auch noch außer dem vorerwähnten Umstand, daß *Lēved* im Namensgebrauch des damaligen Ungartums (in seiner Gesamtheit oder zumindest eines großen Teils davon) eine Zeit lang — auch eng bemessen ein paar Jahrzehnte während — den Sitz des Fürsten Leved bezeichnen mußte. Diese bestimmte Zeitdauer läßt sich da noch weiter konkretisieren, genauer bestimmen, vor allem davon ausgehend, daß die Chronologie des Ortsnamens ziemlich eng mit dem Lebenslauf Leveds zusammenhängen muß, worüber aber der keiserliche Text dank seiner unbestrittenen Wohlinformiertheit, Ausführlichkeit und Authentizität noch viel zu verraten hat. Davon ausgehend, hauptsächlich aber auch die Chronologie des Geschlechts Álmos—Árpád in Betracht ziehend, setzt Kristó (a. a. O. 35—41) für die Geburt des Fürsten Leved — mit einer sehr interessanten und in meistar Hinsicht überzeugenden Dokumentation — die Jahre um 800 an. Im Hinblick auf die möglichen Zeitdifferenzen der einzelnen Generationswechsel ist es jedoch durchaus möglich, daß das Geburtsjahr Leveds evtl. ein bis anderthalb Jahrzehnte näher zur Gegenwart liegt, als Kristó meint. Daß man das Geburtsdatum noch später verlegen könnte, dem widerspricht vor allem der von Konstantin mit großer Genauigkeit angegebene Stammbaum der Arpaden, in dem — wie es auch Kristó richtig sieht — etliche Mitglieder vorkommen, deren chronologisch erfaßbare Rolle mit ziemlicher Wahrscheinlichkeit Rückschlüsse auf das Alter der im Zusammenhang mit der Umsiedlung Leved → Etelköz bzw. mit dem Machtwechsel in Frage kommenden Personen — Leved, Álmos und Árpád — erlaubt. Von den weiteren in Betracht kommenden Beispielen möchte ich hier bloß zwei herausgreifen. Der eine Sohn Árpáds, Liüntika war schon vor der Landnahme

der Anführer der ungarischen Heeres, das die Bulgaren angegriffen hat — bei Konstantin ein *ἄρχων* 'Führer, Fürst'. Ein Urenkel Árpáds, Termacsu ist in diplomatischer Mission schon in den Vierzigerjahren des 10. Jahrhunderts nach Konstantinopel gekommen, wo ihn der Kaiser u. a. d. h. seinen Freund nannten, was über seine Eigenschaft als Gesandter hinaus auch als ein gewisser Hinweis auf sein Alter auszuwerten ist. An Hand der chronologischen Gegenüberstellung der Mitglieder der Familie — etwa auch mit einem „count down“ Liüntika → Árpád → Álmos bzw. Termacs → Tevel → Tarkacs → Árpád → → Álmos — könnte man mit Fug und Recht darauf schließen, daß Álmos spätestens um 825—830 und Árpád spätestens um 845—850 zur Welt kommen mußte; bei Kristó (a. a. O.) liegen die entsprechenden Jahreszahlen bei 820 bzw. 845. Wenn man die vom Kaiser geschilderten Ereignisse zusammenreimt, gelangt man logisch zu dem Schluß, daß der „Oberwoiwode“ Leved jedenfalls vor der Generation Álmos' leben mußte.

Daß Leved kaum nach den Zehnerjahren des 9. Jahrhunderts geboren werden konnte, bekräftigen auch Überlegungen im Zusammenhang mit seinem Besuch im Chasarenreich. Als Leved auf Einladung — oder Befehl — des Khagans nach Chasarien ging, wird er die Hälfte seines Lebensjahre schon hinter sich gehabt haben. Diesbezüglich bietet vielleicht auch das noch einigen Hinweis, daß die Kinderlosigkeit seiner Ehe mit einer Chasarin schon vor der Reise zum Khagan als unabänderliche Tatsache gegolten hat. Hauptsächlich dürfte aber der Umstand darauf hinweisen, daß Leved die ihm vom Khagan angebotene Würde unter Vorschützung seiner Kraftlosigkeit, Schwäche o. seines Kräfteverfalls zurückweist: „ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀδυνατώως ἔχων πρὸς τὴν τοιαύτην ἀρχήν“ „da ich aber zu dieser Würde nicht genügend Kraft besitze“ (Moravcsik); vgl. ἀδυνατέω 'schwach sein, unfähig sein', ἀδυνάτος 'kraftlos, krank, ohnmächtig, unfähig' usw. Dies letzteres halte ich als die etwaige Todesfurcht nach einer erlittenen Niederlage auf dem Felde, die Freude über das Überleben u. dgl. (s. Czeglédy: MNyTK. No. 140. 51; vgl. noch Kristó a. a. O. 129—30) im vorliegenden Fall nicht für eine hinreichende Erklärung. Meiner Ansicht nach stehen hier viel eher Machtfragen der Zukunft, der imminente Machtwechsel mit der Erbfolge in der Fürstenwürde und die autoritäre Mitrede des Khagans in politischen Entscheidungen des ungarischen Stammesverbandes im Vordergrund, insbesondere zu einer Zeit, wo ein Wegziehen des ganzen Volkes weiter nach Westen, in das Land Etelköz bevorsteht; wo die größere Aussicht auf eine Befreiung von der chasarischen Abhängigkeit der inneren Machtfrage — der Besetzung des Fürstenwürde — eine besondere Aktualität verlieh. So wird nicht nur der Chasaren-Vasall Leved, sondern auch sein Herr, der Khagan selbst den Álmos, oder viel eher noch seinen Sohn Árpád für die Bestellung zum Oberhaupt der verbündeten ungarischen Stämme geeignet gehalten haben — worin das Moment der Altersunterschiede gewiß stark mitgespielt hat.

Wie aus dem vermutlichen Alter Álmos' und Árpáds zu schließen ist, mußte die Machtübergabe Leveds mehrere Jahrzehnte vor der Landnahme erfolgt sein und wohl kaum nach Ende der Sechziger- oder Anfang der Siebzigerjahre. In diesem Punkte kann eine von Konstantin festgehaltene wichtige Tatsache nicht genug unterstrichen werden, daß nämlich die tatsächliche Machtübergabe nicht mehr auf dem Boden Leveds, sondern im Etelköz stattfand, und zwar — wie aus dem kaiserlichen Text klar hervorgeht — auch dann erst eine gewisse Zeit nach dem Besuch des Chasarenhofs. Selbst wenn man die damals durchschnittlich kürzere Lebensdauer eines Menschen einkalkuliert und wenn bei der Berechnung des Stammbaums ein Fehler von ein bis zwei Jahrzehnten einem unterliefe, wäre also die Auffassung schwer vertretbar, daß Leved erst ein paar Jahre vor der Landnahme (896) die Führerschaft Árpád übergeben hätte. In den Jahren kurz vor der Landnahme wird ja auch Árpád nicht gerade jung gewesen sein (gestorben ist er i. J. 907), Álmos aber — wenn er die Landnahme überhaupt miterlebt hat (was Anonymus bezweifelt) — hätte die damals reale Grenze eines Menschenlebens fast überschritten haben; im Falle Leveds müßte man noch dazu für die Jahre kurz vor der Landnahme ein so hohes Alter voraussetzen, welches nicht nur demographisch bzw. biologisch, oder gar in Hinblick auf eine Reise ins Chasarenreich usw., sondern alles vor allem aus machtpolitischen Erwägungen — Innehaben und Ausüben der Macht — völlig unwahrscheinlich wäre. Da wir jedoch ohne Berücksichtigung der Lebensdaten Leveds die Chronologie des Ortes Leved weder mit dem terminus ante quem, noch mit dem terminus post quem ermitteln können, würde die Nichtbeachtung dieses Kriteriums uns des einen wichtigsten, vielleicht allerwichtigsten Schlüssels zur Fixierung des Heimatwechsels Leved → Etelköz berauben, und zugleich auch würde das einer Bezweiflung der einschlägigen Angaben Konstantins gleichkommen. Das wäre aber ziemlich unbegründet.

Aus den biographischen Daten des Fürsten Leved bzw. seinem mutmaßlichen Alter ergeben sich für die Chronologie des *Lëved* genannten Raumes die folgenden Anhaltspunkte. Nach dem klaren Zeugnis der historischen Namenskunde wäre es nicht nur unmöglich, daß der Ortsname *Lëved* vor seinem Namensgeber entstanden wäre, sondern diese Person (namens Leved) vielmehr mindestens ein Stammeshäuptling, wenn nicht überhaupt eines Stämmeverbandes sein hätte sein müssen, damit man — aufgrund seiner Würde und Stellung — seinen Sitz nach ihm benannt hätte. Diese Orts- und Zeitbestimmung fällt in bedeutenden Maße mit der Meinung von Gy. Györffy zusammen, wonach die Ungarn den Fluß Dnepr in den Jahren um 830 überquert hätten (s. MNy. LXXX, 388). Ferner hätte dieser Ortsname mindestens so lang und konstant, genau den betreffenden Wohnsitz bezeichnen müssen, bis Leved mit seinem Volk nach Westen abwanderte und

diesen Fürstensitz aufgegeben hat (eine andere Frage ist, ob der Ortsname selbst in der Sprache des Ungartums auch nach der Räumung dieses Gebiets noch weiterlebte). Folglich dürfte der Herrschersitz Leveds annäherungsweise im zweiten Drittel des 9. Jahrhunderts *Lëved* geheißen haben, zumal der Name kaum früher, als Mitte der Dreißigerjahre aufgekommen sein kann, seine synchron Designationsfunktion für eine bestimmte ungarische Niederlassung aber kaum die Sechzigerjahre desselben Jahrhunderts überdauern hätte können.

Die Verlegung des fürstlichen Lagers westwärts, nach Etelköz und damit einhergehend, die Umsiedlung des gesamten Ungartums (oder mindestens seines Hauptteils) mußte also m. E. bis zum Ausgang der Sechzigerjahre des 9. Jahrhunderts vollzogen gewesen sein. Für eine derartig konstruierte Chronologie des Wechsels Leved → Etelköz hat es — wenn auch unter Voraussetzung teilweise anderer geographischer Verhältnisse — schon in der früheren Fachliteratur wiederholt Beispiele gegeben (s. z. B.: Marquart, J.: Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge. Leipzig 1903, 33; Bury, J. B.: A History of the Eastern Roman Empire . . . London 1912, 423, 490—1; Dunlop, D. M.: The History of the Jewish Khasars. Princeton 1954, 196 ff.; etwas ältere Zeiten betr.: Kristó a. a. O. 111, 113, 128).

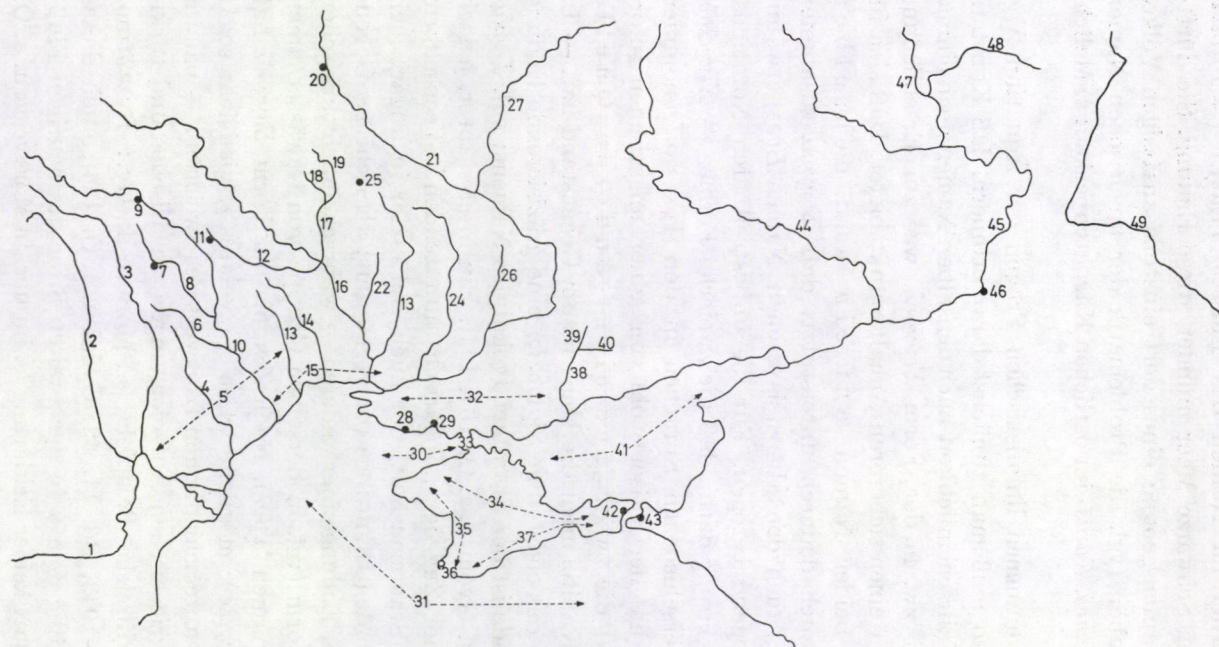
4. Die Lokalisierung von *Lëved* im Spiegel der Flußnamen. — Der kaiserliche Text ermutigt auch zu geographischen Feststellungen, die an geographischer Konkretisierbarkeit weitaus über die obigen aus den Ortsnamen *Lëved* erschließbaren Lokalisationsmöglichkeiten hinausgehen. Eingangs des 38. Kapitels gibt nämlich Konstantin gleich zwei Hinweise darüber, wo dieses Leved eigentlich liegt. Die eine — und für uns jetzt wohl viel wichtigere, weil auf gegebenen Toponymen beruhende Bemerkung ist die, daß in Leved der Fluß *Χιδμάς* fließt, der auch *Χγγιλονς* genannt wird.

A) Obwohl im gegebenen Quellentext der name *Χιδμάς* als primäre Bezeichnung erscheint, hat die ältere Literatur fast ausschließlich *Χγγιλονς* ihre Aufmerksamkeit gewidmet. Für die Identifizierung dieses Namens sind verschiedene Versuche bekannt. Man hielt ihn für den Donez (Pauler: Száz. XIV, 8), für immer einen anderen Nebenfluß des Dons oder einen Zufluß des Azowschen Meeres (Czeglédy: MgÖstört. 103). Abgesehen davon, daß man bei diesen Versuchen umgekehrt vorging und aus einem vorausgesetzten Gebiet auf den Fluß folgern wollte, waren diese Hypothesen auch onomasiologisch nicht begründet. Rein formell zeigt sich schon eher der vom Dnepr weiter ostwärts befindliche Wasserlauf annehmbar: heute ukr. *Чингул* ~ russ. *Чингул* (Tschinhul) (an Marquart anschließend, verweist darauf auch Czeglédy, erst ablehnend: MgÖstört. 102, dann aber im positiven Sinn, als in Frage kommend: MNy. XLI, 54). Dieses Gewässer ist aber eigentlich nur ein paar Kilometer langer Bach, der — mit dem ebenfalls kleinen *Токмак* vereint — seine Fortsetzung als das wiederum ziemlich unbedeutende Flüßchen *Молоч-*

ная findet. Das Flößchen Tschinhul könnte schon aus wirtschaftsgeographischen Gründen dem Konstantinschen Namen nicht entsprechen: seine geringe Wasserspende sowie der Umstand, daß der östliche Teil der öden Nogai-Steppe nicht einmal als Nomadenlager für die Dauer geeignet sein mußte. Anders verhält sich die Sache allerdings mit den Flüssen Inhul, westlich vom Dnepr (heute ukr. *Інгул* ~ russ. *Ингул*). Diese Identifikation hat als erster Ілјинскій aufgeworfen (Byzantinoslavica II/1, 100; vgl. Gyóni a. a. O. 79), später haben auch andere davon Gebrauch gemacht (s. z. B.: Vernadsky, G.: Byzantion 1939: 192; Artamonow, M. I.: История Хазар. Leningrad 1962, 340); neuerdings hat auch Czeglédy (MNyTK. No. 140. 53) diesen Gewässernamen als einen Lösungsweg mit Leved in Beziehung gebracht. Hier erschwert aber schon der „embarras de richesse“ jegliche genauere Bestimmung.

Der Name *Inhul* hat nämlich gleich mit drei Flüssen zu tun, die alle von einer viel bedeutenderen Größenordnung sind, als das Flößchen Tschinhul. Von Osten nach Westen sind es die folgenden: 1. Der gegenwärtige ukr. *Інгулець* ~ russ. *Ингулець* (= *Inhulez*, 'kleiner Inhul'; vgl. *Don* : *Donez*), auf Landkarten aus dem 17. und 18. Jh. *Ingul maly* und *Ingulet maly*, der oberhalb des heutigen Cherson von rechts her in den Dnepr mündet; ein Fluß von ungefähr 300 km Länge. — 2. Der gegenwärtige ukr. *Інгул* ~ russ. *Ингул* (= *Inhul*), auf alten Karten gewöhnlich *Ingul wielky* ('Großer Inhul'), ein etwas kürzerer Fluß, als der *Inhulez*, dafür aber sehr wasserreich; mündet bei Nikolaew linkerseits in den Bug. — 3. Der gegenwärtige ukr. *Гнілий Інгул* ~ russ. *Гнилой Ингул* (= *Hnilyj Inhul* 'Fauliger Inhul'), kartographisch älter auch: *Гнилой Ингулець* (s. z. B. Генеральная карта Херсонской Губернии, 1821), auf manchen späteren Karten *Гнілий Еланець*, ein etwa 100 km langer Fluß, der ober Nowa Odessa ebenfalls zu linker Seite in den Bug einmündet. Für solche gemeinsame Flußbenennungen findet man in der Süd-ukraine zahllose Analogien; die naheliegendste ist die der beiden Nebenflüsse des sich ebenfalls in den Bug ergießenden *Сінюха*, namens *Горний Тікіч* und *Гнілий Тікіч*. Die größte Weite (Ost-West) zwischen unseren zwei äußersten Flüssen — den „kleinen“ Inhul und den „fauligen“ Inhul — beträgt nicht mehr, als 150 km, wobei auch dieser Zwischenland vom „großen“ Inhul durchflossen wird; so kann man also von einem verhältnismäßig einheitlichen Gebiet, sozusagen von einem „Inhul-Land“ reden.

Die Einbeziehung des Konstantinschen *Χιγγιλονς* stößt in keine chronologischen Schwierigkeiten. Die mehrmalige, onomastisch sicher zusammenhängende Realisation des Namens *Inhul* als Gewässernamen, sowie die bekannte Zeitbeständigkeit der Namen der größeren Gewässer spricht überzeugend dafür. Doch gibt es da noch ein weiteres chronologisches Moment, das darauf hinweist, wie uralt diese Namen mit *Inhul* sind. Es ist das wiederholte Vorkommen der Endung *-гул* (= *-hul*) von Flußnamen im Raum nördlich des Schwarzen Meeres; so findet man außer den drei *Inhuls* auch in dem bereits



Legende:

1. Donau. — 2. Seret. — 3. Pruth. — 4. Kohilnik. — 5. Onglos ~ Budžak. — 6. Bik. — 7. Belzi. — 8. Reut. — 9. Ungri. — 10. Dnestr ~ Trullos. — 11. Kodyma (Ortschaft). — 12. Kodyma (Fluß) ~ Chidmas. — 13. Kujalnik. — 14. Tilihul. — 15. Goldküste. — 16. Bug ~ Bogu. — 17. Sinjucha. — 18. Hnili Tikič. — 19. Horni Tikič. — 20. Kiew. — 21. Dnepr ~ Varuch. — 22. Hnili Inhul. — 23. Inhul ~ Chingilus ~ Syngul. — 24. Inhulec. — 25. Lebedin. — 26. Buzuluk. — 27. Psjol. — 28. Adara. — 29. Karha ~ Karkinit ~ Karkina. — 30. Bucht von Karkinit ~ Nekropyla. — 31. Schwarzes Meer. — 32. Nogai-Steppe. — 33. Landenge von Perekop. — 34. Krim. — 35. Chersongegend. — 36. Cherson. — 37. Klimagegend. — 38. Moločnaja. — 39. Činhul. — 40. Tokmak. — 41. Asowsches Meer. — 42. Kerč ~ Bosporos. — 43. Tamatarcha. — 44. Donez. — 45. Don. — 46. Sarkel. — 47. Chopjor. — 48. Buzuluk. — 49. Wolga.

erwähnten *Tschinhul*, ferner im Namen des Flusses *Tilizya* (= *Tilikhul*) der westlich vom Bug ins Schwarze Meer mündet, diese Endung. Sie dürfte auf der konsequenten Namensgebung eines dort einstens ansässigen Volkes bzw. seiner Sprache beruhen (vgl. die Problematik der ungarischen Namen *Szamos*, *Körös*, *Maros*, *Temes*, *Karas*- im östlichen Karpatenbecken: s. Melich: MNyK. I/6, 59 ff.).

Was die strenggenommenen linguistischen Fragen der Äquation $\chi\gamma\iota\lambda\omicron\varsigma \sim \textit{Inhul}$ betrifft, so muß man zunächst daran erinnern, daß Konstantin im 42. Kapitel aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach denselben Namen noch einmal niedergeschrieben hat, u. zw. in der Form $\Sigma\gamma\gamma\omicron\upsilon\lambda$, was zur Erschließung der einstigen Namensform einen sichereren Anhaltspunkt bietet. Daß sich im kaiserlichen Text diese beiden Namen auf ein und denselben Fluß beziehen, wird auch dadurch unterstützt, daß $\Sigma\gamma\gamma\omicron\upsilon\lambda$ zusammen mit *Βογοῦ* (= *Bug*; vgl. auch den alt-ostslawischen Namen *Богъ*) erwähnt wird, auf die gleiche Gegend bezogen. Für die unbestreitbaren Notationsunterschiede liegt die Erklärung darin, daß die zweierlei Formen — $\chi\gamma\gamma\iota\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ und $\Sigma\gamma\gamma\omicron\upsilon\lambda$ — aus verschiedenen Sprachen in den Text aufgenommen worden sind: die erstere hat der Kaiser wohl von seinen ungarischen Informanten gehört, während die zweite aus einer anderen Quelle stammen wird, da jenes Kapitel nicht die Ungarn zum Gegenstand hat. — In der Form $\chi\gamma\gamma\iota\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ stellt das endstellige Sigma (ς) eine gräzisierungsbefähigende Endung dar, das dem vorangehende ist der Stammendvokal des Namens; vgl. *Ταρατζοῦς*, *Τερματζοῦς* usw. (s. Gyóni a. a. O. 164, 194). Ein interessanter, jedoch vollkommen verständlicher Zug der „ungarisch anmutenden“ Wechselform ist der analogiebedingte Stammauslaut, der auch viel später in ungarischen Wörtern und Namen fremden Ursprungs oft vorkommt; als richtiges Gegenstück der konsonantischen Endung einer anderen — wahrscheinlich türkischen (petscheneggischen) — Form (vgl. in derselben Gruppe von Gewässernamen im 42. Kapitel den Flußnamen $\gamma\beta\upsilon\lambda$). Nach Zeugnis der Form $\Sigma\gamma\gamma\omicron\upsilon\lambda$ hat das zweite Iota (ι) in $\chi\gamma\gamma\iota\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ möglicherweise ein velares \imath , vielleicht sogar ein u bezeichnet. Für den unterschiedlichen Lautwert des zweierlei \imath — palatal und velar — gibt es in griechischen Aufzeichnungen ungarischer und türkischer Sprachelemente zahlreiche Beispiele (s.: Moravcsik, Gy.: *Byzantino-turcica*. Budapest 1942–1943, Bd. II, 42; Gyóni a. a. O. 166); auch dieses \imath entspricht ganz regelmäßig dem u in der zweiten Silbe des heutigen Flußnamens. Das $\gamma\gamma = ng$ bedarf keiner Erklärung (s. immerhin Moravcsik a. a. O. Bd. II, 41); hier wäre höchstens im Punkte des jüngeren bzw. heutigen h Lautes auf den regelmäßigen Lautwandel $g > h$ im Ukrainischen zu verweisen. Das griechische χ am Anfang des Namens könnte den einstigen spirantischen Anlaut des Flußnamens anzeigen; auf eine Unsicherheit seines Lautwertes mag aber auch das in der anderen Variante stehende hinweisen: es kann ein χ , ein h oder ein j vertreten. Da aber das Σ in $\Sigma\gamma\gamma\omicron\upsilon\lambda$ evtl. auch

ein bloßes Schriftzeichen, ein Buchstabe ohne Lautwert sein könnte (s.: Moravcsik: MNy. XXII, 83—4; Gyóni a. a. O. 184), der Schwund des anlautenden Spiranten dürfte in diesem Flußnamen schon ziemlich früh eingetreten sein; das häufige Aufgehen solcher Spiranten am Wortanfang in den anschließenden Vokalen ist eine bekannte Erscheinung, die auch im Ungarischen vorkommt. — Aus all dem ist zu schließen, daß die einstige, im damaligen Ungarischen gesprochene Form etwa **zingilu* gewesen sein mußte. Diese Ausgangsform aus dem 10. Jh. — die auf der Zunge der verschiedenen, einst dort hausenden Völker vermutlich etwas unterschiedliche lautliche Realisationen erfuhr — dürfte dem heutigen ukrainischen *Inhul* ohne weiteres entsprechen.

Ob sich dieses *Χιγγιλονς* bei Konstantin auf das ganze „Inhulwinkel“ o. „Inhulland“ als solches bzw. auf die Flüsse dieses Gebiets i. a. bezieht, oder nur auf einen bestimmten Fluß — dann aber auf welchen? — wäre heute schwerlich zu entscheiden. Die in mehreren Stufen vermittelte Überlieferung des Namens wird den genauen, ursprünglichen Denotationsinhalt wohl verdeckt haben; sollte aber nur der eine *Inhul* unter diesen Namen verborgen sein, so kann es sich onomasiologisch und hydrogeographisch besehen, am ehesten um den mittleren, den „großen“ *Inhul* handeln.

B) Der Kaiser sagt, daß *Χιγγιλονς* eigentlich der andere Namen eines Flusses ist, der sonst *Χιδμάς* heißt. Deshalb ist natürlich auch die Identifizierung des *Χιδμάς* für die Lokalisierung des Gebiets *Leved* von einer Wichtigkeit ersten Ranges. Es ist daher glatt erstaunlich, daß dieser geographische Denotator von der Forschung sozusagen unbeachtet gelassen worden war, geschweige denn, daß Versuche zu seiner Deutung unternommen worden wären. Eine Ursache dieser Nachlässigkeit wird gewiß die spärliche Kenntnis des süd-russischen Flußsystems, der Gewässer der Ukraine gewesen sein (was jegliche Identifizierung erschweren mußte), sehr wahrscheinlich ist aber auch, daß man nicht den Mut oder das Verlangen hatte, das so ziemlich sagenumworbene Land *Leved* (oder „*Lebédia*“) von der im urgeschichtlichen Schrifttum eingewurzelten Präkonzeption der Don-Gegend loszureißen. Meines Wissens war Czeglédy der einzige ungarische Autor, der die Bestimmung des zweiten Flußnamens — mit gewissem Vorbehalt — überhaupt in Erwägung zog, und den Flußnamen *Kodüma* dahinter vermutete (MNyTK. Nr. 140, 53). Er hat genau die richtige Spur gefunden, wofür zahlreiche Gründe sprechen.

Der heutige Fluß ukr. *Кодума* ~ russ. *Кодыма* (= *Kodyma*; das ukrainische *u* gilt als *ǐ*) ist etwa 150 km lang und vereinigt sich unter Perwomaisk, nordwestlich von der Mündung des „fauligen“ *Inhul* von rechter Hand mit dem Bug. Er ist auf vielen alten Landkarten zu finden, auch *Kodema* und *Kodeme* genannt (s. z. B. Typus Generalis Ucrainae 1982.). Bei seinem Ursprung, nahe zum Dnestr liegt der Ort *Kodüma*, dessen Name wahrscheinlich trotz seines Altertums sicherlich sekundär ist; den bekannten Entwicklungsgang Gewässername → Siedlungsname darstellt. Weder die Größenordnung

des Wasserlaufs noch das unbekannte Etymon seines Namens lassen Zweifel darüber aufkommen, daß man es mit einer recht alten Benennung zu tun hat.

Auch die Gleichsetzung des *Χιδμάς* von Konstantin mit *Κοδύμα* stößt in keine besonderen linguistischen Schwierigkeiten. Das End -s dient auch hier nur zur Gräzisierung des Namens; vgl. *Σάβας*, *Τράβας* usw. (s.: Moravcsik: Bizturc. II, 47; Gyóni a. a. O. 193—4). Das heutige *Xoduma* spricht dafür, daß zwischen dem *d* und *m* in *Χιδμάς* etymologisch auch ein oben gebildeter Vokal gewesen sein mußte; der Ausfall dieses Vokals aus der zweiten offenen Silbe ist ganz besonders in Sprachen mit Erstbetonung häufig; auch im Ungarischen gibt es hierfür unzählige Beispiele. Das *ι* in *Χιδμάς* — wie wahrscheinlich auch das zweite *ι* in *Χιγγιλοῦς* — steht für einen *ǐ*-Laut (evtl. für ein *u*; s.: Moravcsik a. a. O. 42; Gyóni a. a. O. 166); für eine sekundäre Labialisierung des velaren *ǐ* (*u, o*) gibt es viele Beispiele; außer der erwähnten Form *Inhul* in vielen anderen Sprachen, und so auch im Ungarischen. Das griechische *χ* am Wortanfang könnte nicht nur eine spirantische, sondern auch eine explosivische Lautung (*k, k̥*) anzeigen — im kaiserlichen Werk sind reichlich dafür Beispiele zu finden — auch die Alternant von *κ* und *χ* ist keine Seltenheit —, oft auch bei der Wiedergabe des türkischen *q* Lauts (s. z. B.: Németh: MNy. XVIII, 5, a. a. O. 145; Moravcsik: MNy. XXIII, 269, Byzturc. II, 132 ff., 279 ff.; Gyóni a. a. O. 140; Czeglédy: I. OK. V, 265).

Die ältere, echtere Form dieses Flußnamens dürfte also etwa *Kǐdǐma*, *Kǐdǐma* gewesen sein, was sich zu dem späteren, heutigen ukrainischen *Κοδύμα* entwickelt hat. Eine nicht weniger regelmäßige Fortentwicklung stellt auch die ungarische Variante *Kǐdma* dar, welche Konstantin mit *Χιδμάς* sehr getreu wiedergibt. Nun, auch hier gelangt man zur gleichen Einsicht wie früher: der Kaiser hat — dank seiner ungarischen Gewährsmänner — ungarische Namensformen mit großer Genauigkeit festgehalten. Von „ungarischer Namensform“ kann in beiden Fällen — so *Χιγγιλοῦς* wie *Χιδμάς* — getrost die Rede sein, auch trotz ihrem fremden Etymon, da sie als Flußnamen während des Aufenthaltes der Ungarn in Leved durch Entlehnung organische Elemente ihres Namensgutes geworden waren.

C) Der Umstand, daß nach Konstantin die Namen *Χιδμάς* und *Χιγγιλοῦς* ein und denselben Fluß bezeichnen, schließt unsere besonderen *Inhul* = *Ko-dǐma* Identifizierungen keineswegs aus; in gewissem Sinne werden diese dadurch sogar verstärkt. Es ist ein reiner Glücksfall, daß der Kaiser hier zwei Gewässernamen anführt, weil das Zusammenführen der Namen von geographisch eng verbundenen Flüssen die Richtigkeit des auch gesondert, für jede einzeln begründbaren Namenvergleichs vervielfacht erhärtet, da ja ein bloß zufälliges Zusammentreffen dieser Flüsse bzw. ihrer Namen in einem Text, gleichzeitig ein wahres Wunder wäre. Daß im griechischen Text hier nicht die Namen, sondern die ortskundlichen Angaben ungenau sind, bzw. daß topographisch zusammengehörige, jedoch verschiedene geographische

Objekte nur durch ihren Namen mit einander verbunden wurden, darauf läßt schon ein allgemeiner Satz der Onomasiologie schließen, wonach ein und derselbe Fluß in einem Sprachsystem — ggf. im Munde des damaligen Ungartums — wohl kaum zwei Namen besitzen konnte. Die Koppelung *Χιδμάς*—*Χιγγιλόος* kann natürlich nicht nur Konstantin zugeschrieben werden, sondern auch seinen ungarischen Informatoren — oder sogar den Dolmetschern —, die das überlieferte Namensgut zwar voll besaßen, ihre Ortskenntnisse aber verständlicherweise nicht mehr genau sein konnten. Einen solchen Irrtum könnte man freilich außer der gegenseitigen Nähe der zur Rede stehenden Flüsse auch noch auf besondere hydrogeographische Gründe zurückführen, münden doch der „faulige“ und der „große“ Inhul genauso in den Bug, wie der Kodyma.

Die Identifikation der beiden Flußnamen des Konstantin bzw. der geographische Verlauf der genannten Flüsse zeigt gut konkretisierbar, wo dieses Leved wirklich gelegen sein dürfte. Es war die Gegend des mittleren bzw. unteren Laufes des Bugs, schon in einiger Entfernung vom Meer bzw. von der Brackwasserzone des Bug. Da man Leved — wie wir sahen — durchaus nicht dem gesamten Siedlungsgebiet des damaligen Ungartums gleichsetzen darf, nur mit einem Teil desselben, bedeutet die geographische Bestimmung Leveds natürlich keine solche Verallgemeinerung über die Gesamtheit des Ungartums wie sie Konstantin in den Ortsnamen hineingedeutet hat. Dessenungeachtet liefert die Lokalisierung Leveds doch höchst ernstzunehmende Anhaltspunkte zur Fixierung des Siedlungsraumes des Ungartums zu jener Zeit, weil dieser zwar möglicherweise in einer viel größeren Ausdehnung als die eine Siedlungsstätte namens *Lēved* in demselben Großraum zu suchen wäre, u. zw. im Gewässernetz des Bugs; ein Gebiet, das sich westwärts etwa bis zum Dnestr und gegen Ost-Südost am weitesten bis zum untersten Lauf des Busuluk—Dneprs erstreckt (wobei natürlich nicht der Nebenfluß des Chopjor namens *Busuluk* gemeint ist, sondern ein rechtsseitiger Nebenfluß des Unterlaufs vom Dnepr).

Auf Anhieb wäre vielleicht verlockend, den Namen der nördlich des Inhulgebiets, vom Dnepr aber noch südlich gelegenen Ortes *Лебедун* in unseren Fragenkomplex einzubeziehen (an diese Möglichkeit hat man ja auch schon erinnert). Dieser Name hat aber nichts mit dem einstigen ungarischen Ortsnamen *Lēved* zu tun, sondern kommt aus dem russischen Wort *лебедь* 'Schwan', genauso wie der im russischen Sprachraum auch anderswo unzählige Male vorkommende Namen *Лебедун* von Gewässern und Ortschaften (so u. a. nördlich des behandelten Gebiets, am Psjol gibt es eine Ortschaft gleichen Namens); meistens lassen sie sich auf Gewässernamen zurückführen. Hier wäre auch zu bemerken, daß man mit dem in Osteuropa — teils in russisch-ukrainischem, teils sonstigem Sprachgebiet — häufigen Ortsnamen *Можай*, *Мейеп* u. ä. kaum etwas anfangen kann. Ihre Beziehung zur Volksbezeich-

nung *magyar* ist an und für sich fragwürdig und zu dem Ungartum vor der Landnahme schon mehr als zweifelhaft, dabei sind sie infolge ihres vielfachen Vorkommens von überaus geringem Ortsbestimmungswert (vgl. dennoch: Németh a. a. O. 324–36; Czeglédy: Pais-Eml. 275; Perényi: MNy. LV, 498; Bartha, Antal: A IX–X. századi magyar társadalom [Die ungarische Gesellschaft im 9. u. 10. Jh.]. Budapest 1973, 84; Vásáry: ŐstörtTan. 282–7).

5. Die geographischen Verhältnisse von Leved und Chasarien. — Der im obigen erörterten Lokalisation, die eine sehr konkrete Antwort auf die Frage zu geben schien, wo sich eigentlich dieses Leved befand, scheint allerdings eine andere Bemerkung Konstantins — auf den ersten Blick ziemlich klar — zu widersprechen, daß „sich das Volk der Türken einst nahe zu Chasarien eine Wohnstätte erworben hatte“, welche es „nach seinem ersten Woiwoden“ Leved benannt hat. Wenn man hier die Bestimmung „nahe“ (*πλησίον*) im wörtlichen Sinn verstünde, und mit „Chasarien“ ausschließlich den ost-südöstlich des Dons gelegene Land bezeichnen würde, wie es übrigens viele andere taten (s. weiter unten). Dieser Widerspruch bleibt aber auch dann noch bestehen, wenn man unter diesem Leved — gemäß dem kaiserlichen Wortgebrauch — nicht nur den Fürstensitz, sondern das vom ganzen damaligen Ungartum bewohnte Gebiet, oder mindestens das Herzstück davon verstehen würde.

Ich glaube, auch der hier erscheinende Widerspruch wäre nicht so aufzuheben, daß man die wesentliche Authentizität des Textes von Konstantin bezweifelt. Die Aufhebungsmöglichkeit liegt also offenbar auch in dieser Hinsicht nicht im Ignorieren, einer Textaussage, sondern in der Suche nach einer Erklärung. In dem Teil des kaiserlichen Textes, der das Verhältnis Leved : Chasarien berührt, verdient jedenfalls Beachtung, daß die in diesem Zusammenhang benutzten Bestimmungswörter ziemlich unbestimmte Zeit- und Raumbegriffe darstellen (*το παλαιόν* 'einst' bzw. *πλησίον* 'nahe') und eher an lückenhafte, vage Angaben zu beruhen scheinen. Die in dieser Hinsicht besonders verdächtige Zeitbestimmung „lange, von alters her“ hat wahrscheinlich die Erklärung, daß der Kaiser in diesem Fall von tatsächlich „alten“ Zeiten spricht, was also in Bezug auf das ungarisch—chasarische Nebeneinander oder Zusammenleben einen realen Kern besessen haben mag, nur war eben für den Verfasser des Textes die ganze Chronologie nicht mehr klar. Daß in diesem Punkt gerade mit der *Chronologie* etwas nicht stimmt, zeigt auch in der weiteren Folge jener so vielerlei Erklärungen zulassende, merkwürdige Ausdruck über die dreijährige chasarisch—ungarische Gemeinsamkeit, was sich übrigens auch mit der Bemerkung über gemeinsame Teilnahme an allen kriegerischen Unternehmungen nicht sehr zusammenreimt (vgl. Zichy: MNyK. I/5, 66). Sowohl bei Konstantin wie in den mohammedanischen Quellen ist zu merken, daß stellenweise auch auf frühere

Geschehnisse hinweisende — wahrscheinlich aus älteren schriftlichen Quellen stammende — Angaben in den Text eindringen, die meistens von ziemlich unklaren Inhalt sind und die chronologisch einheitlicheren oder zumindest besser zusammenhängenden Berichte und Schilderungen unterbrechen.

Von der topographischen Seite her gäbe es noch weitere Lösungsmöglichkeiten für den Ausdruck „nahe zu Chasarien“, man könnte noch mehrere wesentliche Momente beachten, die dafür sprechen, daß Konstantin den genauen Verlauf der das Chasarenreichs im 9. Jahrhundert kaum viel besser gekannt hat, als wir, heutzutage (vgl. z. B.: Czeglédy: *MgÖstört.* 100; Bálint: *MTud.* 1980: 380; usw.). Der Kaiser nennt in seinem Werk 15mal *Xaṣaqīa*, aber immer nur als kurze Erwähnung bzw. nur eben dem Namen nach oder geographisch nur ungenau bestimmt. Bei der Beurteilung des *Xaṣaqīa*-Bildes Konstantins darf man aber nicht außer Acht lassen, daß die Chasaren im ganzen 9. Jahrhundert, auch weit westwärts vom Don aus, als bedeutende Machtfaktoren gegolten haben: die slawischen Stämme waren ihnen tributpflichtig, zeitweise konnten sie sich auch Kiews bemächtigen, in der Krim behelligten sie die griechischen Städte, und auch noch im Etelköz waren die Ungarn von ihnen abhängig usw. (s. z. B.: Király: *MNy.* LXX, 163, *MTud.* 1980: 380; Bartha a. a. O. 47, 71; Czeglédy: *MNyTK.* Nr. 140. 49; Kristó a. a. O. 119—21; Ligeti: *MNy.* XXX, 16). Bosphoros (Kertsch) stand noch in der 2. Hälfte des 9. Jh. unter chasarischer Oberhoheit (s. Zichy: *AkÉrt.* XXXVII, 173). Der Kaiser spricht selbst (im 11. Kapitel) davon, daß man in Cherson und im Klima-Gebiet auch noch zu seiner Zeit die Chasaren fürchten mußte. Und was nun im Zusammenhang mit all dem auch für die Namenskunde außerordentlich wichtig ist: eine ganze Reihe westlicher (byzantinischer, italienischer usw.) Quellen nennt bis zum 15. Jahrhundert die Krim *Xaṣaqīa* ~ *Chazaria* ~ *Ghazaria* (s.: Németh a. a. O. 162, 209; Moravcsik a. a. O. II, 280—1). — Wie unbestimmt bzw. dehnbar übrigens die Begriffswörter „Nähe“, „Nachbarschaft“, „angrenzend“, „benachbart“ in den zeitgenössischen Quellen gebraucht wurden, dafür findet man nicht nur bei Konstantin und in den mohammedanischen Quellen noch unzählige weitere Beispiele, sondern gerade auch in solchen Schriften, die über die Chasarennachbarschaft auch in anderem Zusammenhang etwas mitteilen. So schreibt Anastasius Bibliothecarius um 869—870 über das gerade in der westlichen Krim gelegene Cherson, daß es „Chazarorum terrae vicina“ ist, wie dem Cherson von Chasarien fast ebenso weit entfernt ist, wie die Inhul-Gegend (zitiert von Király: *MNy.* LXX, 162).

Der Bau von Sarkel und im allgemeinen, der Ausbau des Befestigungssystems entlag des Dons — in der Fachliteratur so häufig erwähnt — setzt m. E. überhaupt keinerlei chasarisch—ungarische Grenzlinie voraus. Die Burgen wurden — nach den einschlägigen Berichten — nicht nur gegen die Ungarn, sondern auch gegen manche andere Völker errichtet, die mög-

licherweise von viel weiter kommen und in das Chasarenreich einfallen konnten. Und daß die Chasaren gerade das Don-Ufer mit Burgen befestigt haben, versteht sich von selbst, weil das eine leichter zu verteidigende strategische Linie abgab, die aber nicht unbedingt die Grenze des Chasarenreiches bedeuten mußte (wie ja auch die gegen die Mongolen gebauten ungarischen Festungen schwerlich als Reichsgrenze Ungarns oder gar als ungarisch—mongolische Trennungslinie aufzufassen wären). Die Chasaren haben gerade auf Sarkel gestützt, noch Jahrzehnte nachdem sie es erbaut hatten, ihre westlichen Eroberungen fortgesetzt (s.: Czeglédy: MNyTK. Nr. 140. 49; Kristó a. a. O. 119).

Es ist auch offenbar, daß man den (aus der Chronik des Anonymus bekannten) Namen *Dentumoger* zur Entscheidung der Frage, wo jenes Leved eigentlich lag, gleichfalls nicht heranziehen kann. Vor allem darum nicht, weil seine zeitlichen und räumlichen Beziehungen äußerst unverläßlich sind. Ferner auch darum nicht, weil sein onomasiologischer Zusammenhang mit dem Flußnamen *Don* mehr als zweifelhaft ist, geschweige denn die sprachwissenschaftlich unhaltbare Erklärung „Don-tő magyar“, die auch heute noch ihr Unwesen treibt (s.: Gombocz: NyK. XLV, 147—50; EtSz.; vgl. noch Györffy, György: *Krónikáink és a magyar őstörténet* [Unsere Chroniken und die ungarische Urgeschichte]. Budapest 1948, 63). Diese Dentu-Frage sollte, ja mußte man in anderen namenskundlichen Zusammenhängen, genauer untersuchen.

Auch von der Saltovo-Majak-Kultur kann man — trotz wichtiger Hinweise über die Kultur des Ungartums — keine präziseren Informationen — weder chronologischer noch geographischer Art — zur Lokalisierung von Leved erwarten (s. z. B.: Bálint: ArchÉrt. 1975: 53—4; Bartha: ŐstörtTan. 321; vgl. noch Kristó a. a. O. 73), umso weniger, da das Gebiet westlich vom Dnepr — von ungarischem Gesichtspunkte aus betrachtet — archäologisch noch kaum erschlossen ist (s.: Bálint: MTud. 1980: 382—3). Der ungarischen Urgeschichtsforschung sind unverzeiglich viel Ergebnisse und Entwicklungsmöglichkeiten dadurch entgangen, daß die ungarischen Archäologen für das westwärts vom Dnepr gelegenen Gebiet so wenig Interesse zeigen.

Nach all dem muß man zugeben, daß der Ausdruck Konstantins „Nahe zu Chasarien“ jedenfalls nicht für eine genauere Ortsbestimmung ausreicht, allerdings spendet diese Textstelle auch eine negative Gewißheit: daß nämlich eine Beziehung zum Don bei weitem nicht anzunehmen ist. Und da nun eine Auslegung „in der Nähe der Krim“ mit gleichem — wenn nicht noch grösserem — Recht erlaubt wäre, wie jede andere, ist sehr leicht möglich, daß Konstantin hier letzten Endes mit der Lokalisierungsaussage über das Inhul—Kodyma-Verhältnis in keinem Widerspruch gerät.

Ob nun aber hier ein Gegensatz vorliegt oder nicht, im wesentlichen kommt es jedenfalls darauf an, daß die Ausdrucksweise Konstantins „einst nahe zu Chasarien“ im Punkte Authentizität, genauer Folgerungssicherheit

weit hinter dem Kriteriumwert der Problematik Inhul—Kodyma zurückbleibt und mir keinen Anlaß gibt, meine Auffassung über diese Frage mit jenen zu teilen, die Leved in die Dongegend oder jedenfalls den Osten, in einen sich bis zum Don erstreckenden Landstrich — und damit östlich vom Dnepr — versetzen (s. z. B.: Pauler: Száz. XIV, 7; Zichy: MNyK. I/5, 66; Németh a. a. O. 153—4, 160; Czeglédy: MgÖstört. 112, MNy. XLI, 42, 52; Dunlop a. a. O. 199; Artamonow a. a. O. 340; Bartha a. a. O. 118; Kristó a. a. O. 43), ganz abgesehen von jenen älteren Autoren, die mit ihren Hypothesen sogar den Don überschritten haben . . . Doch glaube ich, in diesem Zusammenhang nicht ausdrücklich zu betonen müssen, daß meine vorgebrachten Entgegnungen bloß für den Leved betreffenden Zeitraum, für die Ermittlung dieser chronologischen Daten gelten, und durchaus nicht bezweifeln wollen, daß das Ungartum vorhergehend — im ersten Drittel des 9. Jahrhunderts oder noch früher — enger mit der Don-Gegend bzw. mit chasarisch besiedelten Gebieten verbunden gewesen sein konnte.

6. Die Datierung des Ortsnamens *Etëlköz*. — Um die geographische Lage des Etelköz bestimmen zu wollen, muß man zuerst über die chronologischen Fragen sprechen. Die Literatur hat bisher für den Aufenthalt der Ungarn in dem von Konstantin *Etëlközü* genannten Raum eine ziemlich weite Zeitspanne bemessen. Als Endpunkt wird zwar im Grunde einstimmig die Landnahme angenommen, in der Bestimmung der Anfangsdaten, des Auszugs aus Leved und die Übersiedlung nach Etelköz zeigen sich aber erhebliche Unterschiede; vom ersten Viertel des 9. Jahrhunderts bis zu den Jahren knapp vor der Landnahme sind vielerlei Zeitangabe in Betracht gekommen. In den neueren Publikationen verfißt Bartha (a. a. O. 100, 118) das früheste Datum. Auf die Meinungen zur Mitte des 9. Jahrhunderts bzw. der Jahre etwas danach habe ich schon vorher, anläßlich der Leved-Frage hingewiesen. Der späteste Zeitpunkt (889), dementsprechend die Ungarn nur einige Jahre im Etelköz verbracht hätten, ist nicht nur in der Tradition vielseitig verankert, sondern wird auch heute noch am stärksten vertreten (s. z. B.: Németh a. a. O. 154; Hóman—Szekfü: MTört. II, 69—70; Czeglédy: MgÖstört. 100, 119, MNy. XLI, 39, MTNyTK. No. 140, 50).

Als Beginn des Etelközer Aufenthaltes das Jahr 889 zu setzen und damit dieses Gebiet für ein kurzzeitiges Provisorium der ungarischen Siedlungsgeschichte zu halten, ist ein wissenschaftlich kaum vertretbarer Standpunkt. In dieser Beziehung muß ich an zwei, schon erwähnte Umstände erinnern. Der eine ist die onomasiologische Aussage der Benennung *Etëlköz* selbst: dieser Eigenname hätte sich kaum in so wenigen Jahren gesellschaftlich wirksam und zeitbeständig festigen können; das bedingt einen mindestens einige Jahrzehnte langen, konkreten Namensgebrauch. Das andere Moment ist, daß die Räumung von Leved — m. a. W. die Übersiedlung nach

dem Etelköz — spätestens nach den Sechzigerjahren stattgefunden haben mußte. — Hier bleiben aber noch einige andere Momente zum Überdenken. Die Bemerkung des Kaisers, die Landnahme wäre „einige Jahre nach“ der Wahl Árpáds zum Fürsten (*Μετὰ δὲ τινὰς χρόνους*) erfolgt, kann man — ähnlich wie andere Zeitangaben — nicht als sichere Begründung einer chronologischen Schlußfolgerung auffassen. Daß die Übersiedlung nach Etelköz eine zwangsweise Folge des türkisch—kangarischen (= ungarisch—petscheneggischen) Krieges war — wie es der Kaiser berichtet — unterliegt keinem Zweifel, ob das aber genau im Jahre 889 geschah, ist schon gar nicht sicher. Im Gegenteil! Konstantin selbst sagt gleich an zwei Stellen (3. und 8. Kapitel) ganz klar, daß die Petscheneggen die Ungarn oft mals angegriffen und geschlagen haben — was also nicht auf ein oder zwei Gelegenheiten verringert werden kann — der frühere Siedlungsraum der Petscheneggen ist übrigens weder für den Ort, noch für den Zeitpunkt der Angriffe unbedingt bestimmend (vgl. Czeglédy: MNy. XLI, 39), zumal ja die nomadisierenden Petscheneggen auch in solche ungarische Siedlungsgebiete einfallen konnten, die von der Wolgagegend entfernter gelegen sein mochten. Dabei ist die Jahreszahl 889 Reginos — worauf die ganze Datierung des Heimatwechsels aufgebaut worden ist (vgl. Németh: HonfKial. 152, 159 usw.) — im Punkte des Petscheneggenüberfalls gar nicht maßgebend (s.: Thúry: Száz. 1897: 393; Györffy: TörtSzle. 1971: 283; Kristó a. a. O. 98, 126). Im 39. Kapitel sagt Konstantin auch, daß sich die Ungarn und Kabaren im Lande der Petscheneggen niedergelassen hatten, unter welchen er Etelköz meint; nun aber haben die Ungarn i. J. 881 schon bei Wien gekämpft, was für eine gemeinsame Anwesenheit im Etelköz mindestens eine Voraussetzung bedeutet (s.: Czeglédy: MNyTK. Nr. 140. 53; Kristó a. a. O. 113; vgl. noch Bartha a. a. O. 99). Sonstige Überlegungen, die auf einen längeren Etelközer Aufenthalt der Ungarn Rückschlüsse ziehen lassen, s. noch weiter unten.

Zusammengefaßt sieht es so aus, daß das Ungartum nach seinem Auszug (eigtl. seiner Vertreibung) aus Leved mehrere Jahrzehnte, mindestens aber ein gutes Vierteljahrhundert lang sich auf einem Territorium aufgehalten hat, das mit dem Namen *Etelköz* belegt wurde. Diese Fakten besitzen aber auch eine gewisse Bedeutung für die Einschätzung der schriftlichen Quellen über die Vor-Landnahme-Zeit der ungarischen Geschichte. Über Etelköz gibt nämlich nicht nur Kaiser Konstantin Aufschluß, sondern nicht wenig ist in diesem Zusammenhang auch mohammedanischen Quellen zu verdanken. Darin stimmen nämlich die verschiedenen Lehrmeinungen ziemlich überein, daß die auf Dschaihani zurückgehenden mohammedanischen Schilderung größtenteils für die Siebziger-Achtzigerjahre des 9. Jahrhunderts Gültigkeit haben (s. z. B.: Pauler: Száz. XIV, 9; Zichy: AkÉrt. XXXVII, 181; Czeglédy: MNy. XLI, 54, NyudÉrt. Nr. 5. 32, MNyTK. Nr. 140. 49, 54; Bartha a. a. O. 98; Kristó a. a. O. 87).

7. Die typologische Aussage des Ortsnamens *Etëlköz*. — Die auf Gewässer bezogenen ungarischen Landschaftsnamen mit dem Nachglied *-köz* zeigen zwei Grundtypen. Zum ersten gehören solche Toponyme — Namen von Gegenden, Gebieten —, deren Vorderglied ein ungarisches Gattungswort mit der Bedeutung 'Wasser, Fluß, Gewässer' ist: *Vízköz*, *Tóköz*, *Érköz*, *Árokköz* usw.; *Kétvízköze*, *Kétjóköze*, *Kétsárvöze* usw. (s.: NySz.; OklSz.; TESz.; usw.). Dieser Namenstyp ist so alt, daß der Name *Etëlköz* prinzipiell diesem Typ zugeordnet werden könnte; dann würde er einfach etwa sowas bedeuten wie 'Zwischenland von zwei Flüssen' oder auch in weiterem Sinn 'Wasserwinkel, Flußwinkel'. All dies setzt freilich voraus, daß die ungarische Sprache ein türkisches Wort *etël* 'Gewässer, Fluß' entlehnt hätte. Eine solche Möglichkeit ist — wie wir sahen — auch nicht von der Hand zu weisen. Dieser Möglichkeit widerspricht auch der Umstand nicht ganz entschieden, daß wir einen solchen Gattungsnamen im Ungarischen nicht kennen (vgl. Czeglédy: MNy. LI, 48), schließlich hat ja auch in diesem Bedeutungskreis etliche Wörter unserer Sprache das Los des totalen Aussterbens in Form eines Gemeinworts, bzw. des relikartigen Überlebens in Eigennamen: *ügy*, *jó*, *séd* usw. Gewisse Chancen verleiht dieser Hypothese noch der Umstand, daß im Karpatenbecken sporadisch auch aus späterer Zeit Ortsnamen mit *Etel* auftauchen — mal auch als Gewässernamen — was evtl. eine Ausgangsform mit ungarischen Grundwort vermuten läßt. S. z. B. bei Lipszky: „*Etel*, rivus in Transsylvania“, vgl. CzF.: „*Etel*, patak Erdélyben“; 1333: „*Etel*, helynév Vas megyében“ (EtSz.), letzterer Ortsnamen lebt vielleicht noch fort als der Flurname *Etel*, ebenfalls im Komitat Vas (s. Vas m. földrajzi nevei 501), wobei bemerkenswert ist, daß dessen Langlebigkeit gerade als Flurnamen vielleicht auf ein Gewässer zurückzuführen ist.

Die Zugehörigkeit des Konstantinschen *Etëlköz* zu diesem Typ hat aber außer der ohnehin ungewissen Existenz eines ungarischen Wortes *etel* eine verhältnismäßig geringe Wahrscheinlichkeit. Vor allem darum, weil die Verwendungsmöglichkeit des im folgenden zur Sprache kommenden, anderen Toponymtyps viel stärkere Kriterien heranzieht. Ferner darum, weil der erstere Typ im Ungarischen einen viel selteneren Typ von Gebietsbenennungen darstellt. Letzten aber auch darum, weil dieser Typ — wie aus dem onomastischen Material hervorgeht — nur verhältnismäßig kleine Gebiete zu bezeichnen pflegt, nach dem kaiserlichen Bericht hätte jedoch „*Etëlköz*“ nicht das Siedlungsland des gesamten Ungartums — oder seines Hauptteils — bezeichnen können.

In die zweite typologische Gruppe der ungarischen Gebietsnamen gehören unter den für unser Problem in Frage kommenden Orstnamen jene, deren erstes Glied ein Eigennamen von irgendeinem Gewässer ist, wie z. B. *Vágköz*, *Csallóköz*, *Sárvöze*, *Rábaköz*, *Szamosköz* usw. (eine große Sammlung enthält auch das OklSz.). Ihr gemeinsames und sehr wichtiges Kennzeichen hat eine

doppelte Funktion. Erstens: das Nachglied *-köz* bezeichnet ein solches (gewöhnlich größeres) Gebiet, das von einem größeren und einem kleineren Fluß umschlossen ist. Zweitens: das Vorderglied ist immer der Eigennamen des einmündenden, kleineren Wasserlaufs. Dieses letztere, für unser Thema sehr wesentliche Merkmal wird nicht nur erhärtet, sondern zur Ausschließlichkeit erhoben durch den Umstand, daß im Namen eines solchen, von zwei, sich vereinigenden Flüssen begrenzten Stückes Land der Name des größeren Flusses als Vorderglied für sich allein nie vorkommt. Das gilt auch natürlich für die — im ungarischen Sprachraum übrigens äußerst seltenen — Fälle, wo ein Gebiet zwischen zwei gleichnamigen Flußläufen, ein „Winkel“ von zwei Flüssen mit demselben Namen gemeint ist — auch in solchen Fällen darf man nicht den Namen etwa des größeren Flusses darin vermuten, höchstens den gemeinsamen der beiden. Desgleichen stehen jene wenigen Beispiele zu dieser „Regel“ in keinem Gegensatz, in welchen das Vorderglied der toponymischen Konstruktion bereits ein Doppelname ist, d. h. der Name des größeren Flusses, der den kleineren in sich aufnimmt, ist ebenfalls genannt: 1352: *Drawa-Murakuz* (ZalaOkl. I, 531); 1342: *Thyzabodrogkezy* (Csánki I, 359), *Thyzabodrogkez* (OklSz.); 1575: *Tiŕŕa Duna kőze* (Kiss a. a. O. 192). Völlig verfehlt ist nämlich die Auffassung (s. z. B.: Kertész: MNy. IX, 127; Melich: MNyK. I/6, 7; Moór: ActaEthn. 97; Kniezsa: StSl. XI, 14), wonach diese Konstruktionsvariante dem Ortsnamentyp *Sárköz*, *Szamosköz* u. dgl. vorangegangen wäre, so hätte z. B. die Form *Tiszabodrogköz* früher entstehen müssen, als *Bodrogköz*. Tatsächlich sind aber solche kompliziertere Formen wie *Tisza-Bodrog kőze*, *Duna-Tisza kőze* erst im Schrifttum, mit dem Anspruch auf größere Genauigkeit zustande gekommen; ihr etwaiger Gebrauch in der lebenden, gesprochenen Sprache gilt auch bei Kenntnis der alten ungarischen Kompositionsformen als ausgeschlossen — wie sich auch in der Gegenwart kein einziges lebendes Beispiel, kein gesprochener Beleg dafür findet. Der heutige Name eines Landesteils *Duna-Tisza kőze* ist — abgesehen davon, daß die possessivische Struktur dieser unechten Zusammensetzung ihren künstlichen und relativ jungen Charakter klar verrät — eine papierene Schöpfung der Amtssprache, die sich auch nie zu einer gesprochenen Form **Tiszaköz*, noch weniger **Dunaköz* verkürzt hat. In diesem Sinne kann nun von der Richtigkeit jener Hypothes gar keine Rede sein, wonach des *Etélköz* des Konstantin eine verkürzte Form aus **Tengér-Etél-köz* gewesen wäre (s. Moór, Elemér: A nyelvtudomány mint az ősz- és néptörténet forrástudománya [Die Sprachwissenschaft als Quellenwissenschaft der Ur- und Volksgeschichte]. Budapest 1963, 120; ActaEthn. II, 97). — Es lohnt sich noch zu bemerken, daß der Eigennamen des kleineren Gewässers auch in anderen Sprachen den zur Frage stehenden Namenstyp bilden kann: wotjakisch: *Kam-kusip* 'Land zwischen der Wolga und der Kama' (Moór: ActaEthn. II, 97); serbokroatisch: *Međimurje* 'Drau-

Murwinkel', vgl. noch deutsch: *Murinsel* (s.: Kniezsa: StSl. XI, 14; Kiss a. a. O. 436).

Daß *Etlőkőz* viel wahrscheinlicher zu diesem Typ gehört, als zum ersteren, dafür sprechen nicht wenige Momente. Zunächst wollen wir jedoch auf die schon früher angeschnittene Frage zurückgreifen: für das einstige Ungartum war es gewiß möglich, den Namen *Etl* aus den Türkssprachen als Eigennamen zu entlehnen und in die Territorialbezeichnung *Etlőkőz* einzubauen. Entweder so, daß ein noch anderswo und früher erworbener und mitgebrachter Eigenname auf Grund des erörterten Namensgebungssystems zur Benennung des Etelközer Flusses benützt wurde, oder so, daß dieser Fluß seinen Namen schon von altersher besessen hatte, und die Ungarn ihn von Türkvölkern übernahmen sowie in ihr eigenes Namensgut einfügten. Was nun die verstärkenden Kriterien betrifft, ist an erster Stelle darauf hinzuweisen, daß der griechische Kaiser anläßlich der zweiten Nennung des Namens *Etlőkőz* selber sagt: dieses Gebiet wurde nach seinem Fluß so benannt, was ganz gewiß als Hinweis auf einen Eigennamen aufzufassen ist (vgl. Czeglédy: MNy. XLI, 48). Es wird noch die Rede darauf kommen, daß die Bezeichnung *.t.l* bei Gardisī identisch sein dürfte mit dem *Etl*-Element des *Etlőküzü* bei Konstantin, dann ist aber *.t.l* des mohammedanischen Quellenwerkes vermutlich ein Eigenname. Doch der an zweiter Stelle behandelte ungarische Namenstyp zeigt in seiner Eigenschaft als Landschaftsname gleichfalls in diese Richtung. Seine Verbreitung ist im frühungarischen Namensgut erheblich größer, als der des Typs *Vizköz*, *Kétvizköze*. Des weiteren, der Typ *Csallóköz*, *Sárvizköz* usw. stellt seit den ältesten Zeiten bis heute immer nur echte Zusammensetzungen (u. zw. possessivische) dar, und eine solche Konstruktion ist auch unser *Etlőkőz*. Zu guter letzt sie daran erinnert, daß dieser Namenstyp im Ungarischen auch verhältnismäßig große, ausgedehnte Territorien bezeichnen kann, was in den kaiserlichen Bericht besser hineinpaßt.

Da von den beiden besprochenen Ortsnamentypen *Etlőkőz* mit sehr großer Wahrscheinlichkeit dem zweiten angehört, ermöglicht dieses typologische Merkmal mehrere geographisch relevante Feststellungen, die zur Bestimmung gewisser — nun auch geographischer — Hauptmerkmale des genannten Gebiets. Es handelt sich um folgendes: 1. Das Land Etelköz muß zwischen zwei solchen Gewässern gelegen sein, deren Zusammengehörigkeit aufgrund ihrer verhältnismäßig engen Benachbarkeit, evtl. auch aufgrund der Zugehörigkeit zum gleichen Wassersystem (Zusammenfluß oder Einmünden in ein gemeinsamen, größeren Fluß) für die namengebende Sprachgemeinschaft eine gut wahrnehmbare Tatsache war. 2. Der Name dieses Gebiets hat zwei Gewässernamen zur Voraussetzung: der eine ist *Etl* — wohl der Name des kleineren Wassers; der größere Fluß o. ä. könnte nur dann den gleichen Namen führen, wenn beide denselben Namen hätten, was aber weniger wahrscheinlich ist. 3. Die flächenmäßige Größenordnung des

Etelköz wird durch folgende Überlegungen ziemlich genau definiert: einerseits dürfte es sich kaum um ein so kleines Siedlungsgebiet handeln wie im Falle von Leved; andererseits käme kein sich so weit erstreckendes Territorium in Frage, das von mehreren großen Flüssen bewässert ist, welche mehreren, hydrogeographisch voneinander unabhängigen Systemen angehören.

8. Identifizierungsmöglichkeiten von *Etél* und *Etélköz*. — Wie aus obigem schon hervorgeht, ist das Verhältnis zwischen dem Flußnamen *Etél* und dem Ortsnamen *Etélköz* von solcher Art, daß sie einander typologisch bestimmen, folglich besteht auch in der Frage ihrer Lokalisierung ein enger Zusammenhang zwischen den beiden. Im Sinne der chronologischen Ordnung der Namenphysiologie bzw. Namenphysiognomie wollen wir aber doch zuerst das Problem des Gewässernamens bereinigen.

A) In der älteren Literatur wurde der Fluß *Etél* im Etelköz sozusagen jedem größeren Fluß und Strom des südlichen Teils von Osteuropa gleichgesetzt: in Frage kamen die Wolga, der Don, der Donez, der Dnepr, der Bug, der Dnestr und der Prut (s. z. B.: Kuun: MHK. 170; Marquart a. a. O. 30, 33; Fehér: Száz. XLVII, 678; Zichy: AkÉrt. XXXVII, 169; Gombocz: NyK. XLV, 184; Melich: MNyK. I/6, 7, MNy. XXII, 346, KCsA. II, 237—8; Pais: SRH. I, 41, MNy. LIII, 15; Gyóni a. a. O. 22; Czeglédy: MgÖstört. 105, 112; Moór: NyK. XLIV, 80). Den Kreis dieser Flüsse wird man aufgrund unser Auseinanderstzungen bestimmt noch einengen müssen, die größten (Wolga, Don, Dnepr) fallen gleich aus. Da aber die Literatur bisher besonders für den Don plädiert hat, muß man vor allem die Unwahrscheinlichkeit dieser Behauptung näher besprechen.

Was aus der Namenstypologie rein geographisch folgt, ist schon an und für sich von stark negativer Beweiskraft. Der Don ergießt sich nicht in einen anderen, größeren Strom; als größeres Aufnahmegewässer kommt das Asowsche Meer allein schon darum nicht in Frage, weil der Don lotrecht ins Meer einmündet, m. a. W. keinen „Winkel“ bildet. Den Don schließt aber auch der Konstantinsche Text schon aus — diese Annahme wird darin ganz entschieden widerlegt —, indem der Kaiser schreibt, daß die Ungarn nach der Leved-Periode westwärts nach Etelköz gezogen sind. Selbst abgesehen von unseren vorangegangenen Ausführungen über die geographische Lage von Leved, müßte diese Westwanderung eine Gleichsetzung *Etel* = *Don* jedenfalls ausschließen, zumal ja die Vorfahren der Ungarn wenn nicht von weiter, so mindestens aus der Wolgagegend ins Etelköz kommen müssen hätten.

In dieser Thematik darf man freilich auch den bei Gardizī vorkommenden Flußnamen *.t.l.* — den er im Zusammenhang mit dem Land der Ungarn nennt — nicht übergehen. Es kann kaum einem Zweifel unterliegen, daß dieser Flußname von seinem Etymon her identisch ist mit dem

Etél des Konstantin. Ob aber die Namenangabe der persischen Quelle das gleiche Designat bezeichnet, ist schon keine so einfache Frage.

Der Flußname *.t.l* ist in den mohammedanischen Quellen nicht selten. Die Texte enthalten meistens einen klaren Hinweis darauf, daß es sich um die Wolga handelt. Hingegen findet sich kein einziger Hinweis auf den Don. Gardisi ist die einzige Quelle, welche die mit dieser Frage befaßten Forscher (s. die obenangeführte Literatur) auf den Gedanken bringen konnte, es wäre der Don, u. zw. darum, weil hier dieser *.t.l* im Zusammenhang mit den Ungarn vorkommt und als Gegenstück zur Donau erscheint. Es bleibt jedoch höchst fraglich, ob dieser Zusammenhang wirklich beweiskräftig ist. Das Verhältnis des Ungartums zum Namen *.t.l* entspricht in geographischer Hinsicht einer Gleichung mit zwei Unbekannten, wo das eine Glied schwerlich das andere definieren könnte. Zwischen Donau und Don liegen mehr als tausend Kilometer, ein Gebiet, größer, als das Karpatenbecken, mit mächtigen Flüssen und Strömen, darunter mit dem Dnepr, der ja an Größe den Don noch übertrifft. Das Verbinden der Donau mit dem Don erweckt schon deshalb arge Zweifel.

Gardisi sagt aber auch noch allerlei anderes, was den Zweifel noch weiter verstärkt. So z. B., daß beide Flüsse ins Meer der Römer (= ins Schwarze Meer) münden, wo doch sich doch der Don in das Asowsche Meer ergießt, in welchem Zusammenhang aber von „Römern“ (= Byzantinern) zu reden mindestens unmotiviert ist bzw. einen zweifelhaften Sinne hätte, da sich die byzantinischen Kolonien im Westen und Süden der Krim befanden. Wenn gleich der persische Autor nicht behauptet, daß der „rechts“ von Ungarn fließende Strom der *.t.l* wäre, könnte man immerhin aufgrund der über die Donau gesagten eine solche Schlußfolgerung ziehen. Dann gäbe es aber wiederum Schwierigkeiten mit dem Don, schreibt doch Gardisi, daß dieser Fluß — von den Ungarn her gesehen — in Richtung der Slawen, und von dort weiter, zu den Chasaren fließt, und von den beiden Flüssen ist dieser der größere. Das Wort für Wort genommen — wie auch den Siedlungsraum der Slawen im 9. Jahrhundert in Betracht gezogen (s. darüber später) — müßte man die Ungarn dieser Zeit irgendwo beim Oberlauf des Don, verhältnismäßig hoch im Norden suchen, und der Don hätte größer als die Donau sein müssen.

Sollte allerdings Gardisis *.t.l* vielleicht doch auf den Don oder — was onomastisch evtl. eher vertretbar wäre — auf die Wolga zu verstehen sein, so könnte man das als eine Reminiszenz an eine frühere, der Periode *L e v e d — E t e l k ö z* vorangegangene Heimat des Ungartums auffassen, die aus noch älteren Quellen als Dshaihani in der Text des Persers hineingekommen waren. Dann aber hätte dieses *.t.l* mit dem *Etél* im *Etélküzü* des Konstantin gar nichts zu tun (vgl. Czeglédy: *MgÖstört.* 112, *MNy.* XLI, 54, *MNyTK.* No. 140. 42), und zwar wäre das nicht nur aus chronologischen, sondern auch aus geographischen und namenstypologischen Gründen nicht

möglich. Daß nämlich unsere Vorfahren das enorme Gebiet zwischen der Donau einerseits und dem Don oder der Wolga andererseits *Etëlköz* genannt hätten bzw. daß so eine Namensgebung möglich gewesen wäre, das ist — abgesehen auch von anderen Faktoren — bloß schon angesichts des Verhältnisses zwischen dem Denotator (dem Namen) und dem Denotat (dem Gebiet) g l a t t u n v o r s t e l l b a r.

Trotz aller Widersprüche des persischen Textes in diesem Punkte, ist doch nicht von der Hand zu weisen — da wesentliche Momente dafür sprechen — daß dieses *.t.l.* in der persischen Quelle und *Etël* bei Konstantin ein und denselben Fluß bezeichnen könnten. Wie ich schon darauf hingewiesen hatte, sprechen chronologische Gründe nicht dagegen. Hingegen enthalten die Texte von Gardisî wie auch von Ibn Rustah und 'Aufi etliche Stellen bzw. Momente, die sehr auffallende Übereinstimmungen mit jenen Elementen, welche sich also typologisch bedingte Folgerungen aus einem Namen wie *Etëlköz* ergeben. Die genannten mohammedanischen Quellen besagen nämlich nicht weniger, als daß: 1. die Ungarn zwischen zwei Flüssen hausen; 2. diese Flüsse vereint in das „Meer der Römer“ münden; 3. der eine der beiden Flüsse ist größer, als der Dschaihun (= Amu Darja), woraus logisch folgt, daß der andere Fluß kleiner ist.

Nun, man könnte sagen, mit wahrhaft gespentischer Treue wiederholt sich — und findet auch eine ganz anderweitige Bestätigung — die im vorhergehenden dargelegte typologische Aussage des Namens *Etëlköz*. Auf die Flußbenennungen Gardisîs bezogen, wird all dies wohl kaum anders zu deuten sein, als daß der größere Fluß der beiden zusammenströmenden Flüsse (deren Zwischenland eben jenes Etëlközt ist), nur die *Donau*, der kleinere aber der *.t.l.* ist. — Allerdings darf man ein widerspruchsvolles Element im Text des Gardisî nicht verschweigen. Es stört nämlich, daß Gardisî vermutlich die Donau als den „links von den Ungarn befindlichen“ Fluß bezeichnet, wo doch von ihrem Ufer aus die Ungarn — gemäß dem Text — die *ndr* (= Bulgaren) sehen (darüber s. noch weiter unten); den „rechts befindlichen“ Fluß bezeichnet er aber später als den größeren. Der offene Widerspruch läßt sich aber aufheben. Der Hinweis auf den rechtsseitigen Fluß ist eine spätere, auf andere Dinge bezogene, interpolationsartige Textstelle, wo nicht nur der Flußname *.t.l.* überhaupt unerwähnt bleibt, sondern selbst die Beziehung zu dem Text nicht absolut sicher ist. Ferner sind in der Beschreibung auch die Begriffe „rechts“ und „links“ nicht ganz klar, geschweige denn von der Stromrichtung aus gesehen — was für die geographische Ortsbestimmung doch am allerwichtigsten sein kann — gerade umgekehrt, was ebenfalls zu Mißverständnissen führen konnte. — Alles in allem ist also ziemlich sicher anzunehmen, daß der Fluß *.t.l.* des Gardisî mit dem *Etël* des Konstantin identisch ist. Dann aber dürfte dieser *t.l.* nicht allzu weit von der Donau entfernt gewesen sein.

Da bei den Bestimmungsversuchen des *Etél* auch der Dnepr mehrmals zur Erwähnung kam, muß man als Minimum daran erinnern, daß die meisten Argumente, die zur geographischen Identifikation des Flußnamens *Etél* in der Zusammensetzung *Etelköz* herangezogen wurden, in diesem Zusammenhang den Dnepr genauso ausschließen, wie den Don. Wollten wir von diesen negativen Momenten doch absehen, so könnte außer dem „Münden in das Meer der Römer“ nur eine Sache einigermaßen als positiver Verdachtsgrund gewertet werden: der unterste Lauf des Dnepr schließt mit dem Schwarzen Meer — in südöstlicher Richtung vom Strom — tatsächlich ein Eck, einen Winkel o. ein Zwischenland ein, wobei ja das Meer schließlich ein „größeres Gewässer“ wäre, als der Dnepr. Diesen leisen Verdacht entkräften aber auch physiographische Momente: dieses Zwischenland ist nämlich ganz einfach die Nogai-Steppe, die — wie bekannt — die ödeste, unwirtlichste Gegend des ungeheuer großen Raumes nördlich vom Pontus ist, für dauernde Niederlassung ungeeignet ist, aber auch jener Kennzeichen entbehrt, die in den mohammedanischen Quellen im Zusammenhang mit dem Land der Ungarn so anschaulich geschildert werden.

Wie aus unseren Ausführungen folgt, kann der aus dem kaiserlichen Text mit voller gewißheit erschließbare Fluß namens *Etél* keinesfalls mit irgendeinem der im Osten unter diesem Namen — oder zumindest unter dem Verdacht eines solchen Namens — bekannten Fluß identisch sein, bzw. viel weiter gen Westen, ganzer: westlich vom Raume *Leved* mußte es auch einen so benannten Fluß gegeben haben, nach welchem *Etelköz* seinen Namen erhielt. Daß es hier, konkreter: zwischen der Donau und dem Bug unter verschiedenen anderen Namen bekannt Flüsse gibt, kann natürlich nicht als Hindernis gelten. Die große Stabilität der Gewässernamen widerspricht nämlich nicht der Tatsache, daß die Gewässer sprach- und zeitbedingt auch verschiedene, andere Namen führen können. Um gleich bei unserem Gegenstand zu bleiben: der Dnepr z. B. hat schon lange bei Herodot *Βορρθενης* geheißen, bei Jordanes erscheint der Name *Var*, aber auch *Danaper*, bei Długosz *Erzesze*, und neben dem *Δάναπος* des Konstantin steht auch der von ihm wahrscheinlich auf denselben Fluß bezogene Namen *Βαρούχ*. (Vgl. daß Czeglédy: MNy. XLI, 48 auch eine Namendreiheit *Dnepr* ~ *Barukh* ~ *Etel* für möglich). Das kaiserliche *Ἀτελ*- ~ *Ἐτέλ* wird jedenfalls eine Name gewesen sein, der für einen bestimmten Fluß des besagten Gebiets von den Ungarn gewiß benutzt wurde, was freilich durchaus nicht ausschließt, das auch andere Völker (so z. B. Türkvölker) diesen Fluß so nennen konnten; die Form *Ἐτέλ καὶ Κοζοῦ* verrät aber, daß der Schreiber des Textes sie mit einem anderen, wahrscheinlich ihm bekannten und vermutlich im Text auffindbaren Flußnamen nicht identifizieren hat können.

Daß ein gewisser Fluß des hier besagten Gebiets vielleicht noch Jahrhunderte später auch den Namen *Etél* geführt hat, darüber gibt es eine interes-

sante Angabe, die unsere Aufmerksamkeit mit Recht erwecken dürfte. Die aus der Chronik des Johannes von Küküllő (Küküllei János „De gestis Ludovici . . .“, Ende des 14. Jh.) schöpfende Dubnicer Chronik (Ende des 15. Jh.) erwähnt — in der Erzählung des Feldzuges Ludwigs des Großen gegen die Litauer und danach gegen die Krimtataren — daß das königliche Heer bei der Rückkehr von der Westseite der Buggegend „ad fluuium *Ethel*“ gelangte. Im Zusammenhang mit diesem Ereignis liest man in der Chronik auch den Ortsnamen *Belz* („*Belz castrum*“, heute *Белы* in der Moldauischen Sozialistischen Sowjetrepublik, an dem Nebenfluß Reut des Dnestr), von wo heimwärts ziehend, das Heer auch den Sereth überquerte (Chronicon Dubnicense. Pécs 1884, 163, 165). Den darin enthaltenen Flußnamen *Etel* hat man schon einer ganzen Reihe von Flüssen beigelegt — so viel der Verdacht auf den Dnepr, den Bug, den Dnestr, dem Prut und den Stryj, am meisten jedoch auf den Dnestr (s. z. B.: Pauler: Száz. XIV, 14; Fehér: Száz. XLVII, 674; Melich: a. a. O. 7; EtSz.). — Diese Angabe muß man freilich mit einigem Vorbehalt behandeln, weil zwischen den beiden Chronikstellen gewisse Widersprüche bestehen, weil der usuelle Wert des Gewässernamens *Etel* bzw. seine Verankerung in irgendeiner bestimmten Sprache nicht klar ist, und weil jener Hinweis, daß dieses Gewässer die Sterbestätte Attilas wäre, eine Verflechtung mit erdichteten Elementen vermuten läßt. Doch wie verfehlt es wäre, das als Beleg für den das 9. Jahrhundert lange überdauernden Namen des Flusses vom *Etelköz* aufzufassen, ebenso fehl am Platz wäre ihn einfach beiseiteschieben — seine geographischen Beziehungen weisen ja so augenfällig in die Gegend, die für die Lokalisierung des *Etél*-Flusses von Konstantin auch aus anderen und triftigen Gründen in Betracht kommt.

Ohne irgendeine besondere topographische oder chronologische Bedeutung für unseren Gegenstand daraus herauszuschlagen zu wollen, muß ich allerdings noch erwähnen, daß nördlich von *Belz* und westlich von der Ortschaft *Kodjma*, an dem Dnestr ein Ort namens *Ungri* liegt.

Zur Frage des *Etél* im kaiserlichen Text zurückgekehrt: wenn man als das größere Gewässer die Donau nimmt — wofür es nicht wenige gute Gründe gibt — dann muß man das Denotat von *Etél* vor allem im Dnestr sehen. Der Name, den Konstantin für diesen Strom gewöhnlich benützt — *Δάναστρος* — widerspricht dem keineswegs, vielmehr nennt der Kaiser selbst denselben Fluß auch *Τροῦλλος*, und auch in anderen Sprachen gebrauchte Benennungen des Dnestr (*Tyras*, *Turlo*) sind bei ihm zu lesen. (Hier möchte ich bemerken, daß nach der letzten einschlägigen Meinung von Pais (MNY. LIII, 15) *Etél* der Dnestr oder der Pruth war.) Wenn man — von Gardisi abgesehen — nicht die Donau, sondern den Dnestr als „größeres Gewässer“ zur Vergleichsbasis wählt, dann könnte man ja einige kleinere Flüsse, die sich ins Meer oder in den (größeren) Dnestr ergießen und zum Flußsystem des Dnestr gehören (Tilihul, Kujalnik, Kohilnik, Bjk, Reut) als Träger der Namens *Etél*

ansehen; diese Möglichkeit kommt aber weniger in Frage, da die in Betracht kommenden „Flußwinkel“ verhältnismäßig eng sind. Wenn man ein größeres Gebiet sucht, könnte schließlich der gen Osten entfernteste „*Etél*“ noch der Bug sein — namenstypologisch freilich ebenfalls eher gegenüber dem Dnestr als größerem Fluß, evtl. auch gegenüber dem Meer; die einmal schon erörterte Lokalisierung des Toponyms *Lëved* würde aber diese Lösung — wenn auch nicht ausschließen — immerhin stark in Frage stellen.

B) In ihrer Bedingtheit durch die Lokalisation des Flußnamens *Etél* zeigte auch die geographische Bestimmung von *Etëlköz* einen ziemlich breiten Fächer. Der größere Teil der Autoren versetzte Etelköz in den Raum westlich des Dnepr, wobei auch die Dnestrgegend in Frage gekommen ist (s. z. B.: Pauler: Száz. XIV, 14; Marquart a. a. O. 33; Fehér: Száz. XLVII, 583—4; Zichy: AkÉrt. XXXVII, 172, 184; Gombocz: NyK. XLV, 184; Hóman—Szekfü, MTört.² 69—70; Dunlop a. a. O. 203; Artamonow a. a. O. 327 ff.; Bartha a. a. O. 100, 118; Kristó a. a. O. 118). Andere haben es in eine Gegend östlich vom Dnepr versetzt (Czeglédy: MgÖstört. 105, 115; Moór: NyK. LIV, 80, Acta Ethn. II, 97). Es gibt auch Meinungen, die beide Möglichkeiten für real halten (Słownik St. Słow. I, 53; Kniezsa: StSl. XI, 14). Sogar der Gedanke eines Etelköz zwischen der Donau und dem Don ist in Erwägung gezogen worden (Czeglédy: MNyTK. Nr. 140. 53). In diesem Zusammenhang muß ich aber erneut betonen, daß im Sinne unserer Kenntnisse über das Designationssystem der auf Gewässernamen beruhenden Landschaftsnamen bzw. solcher Namenstypen der Name *Etëlköz* eine zwischen der Donau und dem Don gelegene Gegend ganz bestimmt nicht bezeichnet hat, aber auch ein Donau—Dnepr-Zwischenstromland wohl kaum gewesen sein konnte. Das gilt nicht nur für den Fall, daß der Name *Etëlköz* zu dem meinerseits schon beschriebenen zweiten Namenstyp gehört — was übrigens sehr wahrscheinlich ist —, sondern auch dann, wenn er möglicherweise doch in der ersterwähnten Toponymtyp einzureihen wäre. Hier handelt es sich nämlich um fundamentale Sätze der Namenskunde, welche die im Zusammenhang mit dem *Etëlköz* denkbaren geographischen Möglichkeiten — von allen anderen, gleichbedeutenden Umständen abgesehen — schon um und für sich abgrenzen.

Aus meinen verschiedenen Ausführungen geht hervor, daß ich dieses Etelköz nicht nur vom Dnepr, sondern auch vom Bug westlich suchen würde. Innerhalb dieser allgemeinen Lokalisierung halte ich es für am wahrscheinlichsten, daß sich das genau *Etëlköz* genannte Gebiet in dem durch den Dnestr, die Donau (bzw. das Donaudelta), den Pruth und das Schwarze Meer umgrenzten Zwischenstromland — praktisch auf dem Boden des späteren Bessarabien — befunden haben muß. In dieser Hinsicht lohnt es sich zu erwähnen, daß ungefähr dieselbe Landschaft auch in deren Sprachen mit Eigennamen belegt wird, die in der betreffenden Sprache ursprünglich

ein Gemeinwort mit der Bedeutung 'Eck, Winkel' waren. Schon Pauler (Száz. XIV, 14, Note) fand es bemerkenswert; daß der südliche Teil des (auch s. E. dort zu suchenden Etelköz) — das Land zwischen Donau und Dnestr — bei den griechischen Autoren *Onglos*, bei den Slawen *Anglz*, bei den Tataren *Budziak* geheißen hat. Moravcsik (a. a. O. II, 184) bringt eine ganze Menge Belege für den Namen **Oγγλος*, **Oγλος* als Bezeichnung für 'das Gebiet nördlich der Donaumündung, das sich über den Dnestr bis zum Bug erstreckt'. Der alte ungarische Name von Bessarabien war auch *Bucsák* (türk. Ursprungs); vgl. kumanisch *bučyak*, tschag. *bučkak*, osm. *bucak* usw. 'Ecke, Eck, Winkel, Landstück' (s.: Räsänen: EtWb. 85; Kiss a. a. O. 108, 135).

Konstantin erzählt, daß die Ungarn nach Verlassen des Gebiets Leved, u. zw. in Richtung gen Westen, „in Stätten namens *Etelközü*“ übersiedelten. Wenngleich dieses vor allem als *Etelköz* lokalisierte Gebiet (Bessarabien) an und für sich schon ziemlich weitausgedehnt ist, muß der kaiserliche Text nicht unbedingt so ausgelegt werden, daß die Ungarn nach ihrem Auszug aus Leved nur im Etelköz, oder (im Sinne des obigen) nur westlich vom Dnestr gehaust hätten. Die einschlägige Textstelle erlaubt nämlich u. U. auch eine solche Interpretation, daß die *Etelköz* genannte Landschaft das h a u p t s ä c h l i c h e, z e n t r a l e S i e d l u n g s g e b i e t des Ungartums nach dem Verlassen von Leved war, der territoriale Machtbereich, das tatsächlich besessene Gebiet möglicherweise aber auch etwas größer sein mochte, als jene Landschaft, die unter diesem Namen vorrangig geographisch bestimmbar ist. In dieser Beziehung gewinnt vielleicht auch noch der Umstand einige Bedeutung, daß der Kaiser im Zusammenhang mit dem Namen *Etelközü* sogar zweimal die Pluralform benützt d. h. von „Orten, Stätten“ spricht (*εις τόπους, ἐν οἷς τόποις*).

Der Ortsbestimmung Leveds kann man schließlich auch nicht vorwerfen, daß sie mit diesen Möglichkeiten in Widerspruch stünde; auch sie läßt sich mit der Behauptung in Einklang bringen, daß die Quartiere des Ungartums in seiner Etelköz-Periode nicht nur im Westen gelegen sind (vom Dnestr aus gesehen), sondern bis zu einer gewissen Grenze — man denke an das übliche beidufrige Lagern dieser Völker — es werden auch östlich davon, Richtung Bug bzw. zwischen dem Dnestr und dem Bug Lager angelegt worden sein. Wie wir sahen, ist auch das nicht ganz auszuschließen, daß der Name *Etelköz* in der Sprache des damaligen Ungartums das Zwischenland des Dnestr und der von ihm östlich fließenden kleineren Flüsse, oder vielleicht gerade das Dnestr—Bug-Eck bezeichnet hat. Als zeitweiligen oder totalen Besitzbestand dürfte man — von der Mobilität des Ungartums ausgehend — sogar den Pruth nicht als irgendeine Art absolute Grenze auffassen, wenngleich die mittleren und oberen reich bewaldeten Gegenden des Pruth-Seret-Winkels — die östlichen Teile der heutigen Moldau — aus physiogeographischen Gründen wohl weniger in Betracht kommen. Die Lokalisation von Etel-

köz, insbesondere aber die Siedlungs- und Lagerplätze der Ungarn während ihres Etelközer Aufenthaltes darf man also — genauso wie im Falle von Leved — nicht mit starrer Eindeutigkeit handhaben, bzw. darf man keine vollkommen geschlossenen Grenzen annehmen, da es sich ja um ein Nomadenvolk (richtiger vielleicht: halbnomadisches Volk) gehandelt hat. Diese Eventualitäten sind aber freilich nicht von solcher Bedeutung, daß sie in der Frage der geographischen Bestimmung des Siedlungsraumes des Ungarn in der „Etelközer Periode“ keine wesentlichen Änderungen zur Folge haben könnten.

Konstantin schildert — hauptsächlich im 37. Kapitel — mit großer Ausführlichkeit, wie weit sich zu seiner Zeit die Siedlungsgebiete der Petscheneggen erstreckt haben, wobei er ein riesengroßes Gebiet umreißt, von den Bulgaren bis zu den Chasaren. Zugleich bemerkt er aber mehrmals (Kapitel 8., 37., 38., 39., 40.), daß die Ungarn vorher dort gelebt haben, wo sich zu seines — Konstantins — Zeiten das Land der Petscheneggen befand. Daraus aber — wie auch Czeglédy (MgÖstört. 104, MNy. XLI, 48) richtig bemerkt — folgt noch nicht das mindeste für eine genauere Lokalisierung von Etelköz. Die Hinweise über ungarisch-petscheneggische Siedlungsgebiete beziehen sich nur in zwei Fällen ausdrücklich auf Etelköz, und auch diese nur insofern, daß im Etelköz zu Konstantins Zeiten Petscheneggen gewohnt haben. Die übrigen Stellen geben nur allgemeine Hinweise über den früheren Wohnort der Ungarn, worunter chronologisch und/oder topographisch sowohl Etelköz wie auch Leved verstanden werden kann. Die am Ende des 38. Kapitels als Heimat der Petscheneggen genannten fünf Flüsse (*Βαρούχ, Κουβοῦ, Τροῦλλος, Βροῦτος, Σέρετος*) bzw. dieses Land darf man — im Sinne des 37. Kapitels — nur auf die westpetscheneggischen Stämme beziehen, was aber auch nicht als genaue Ortsbestimmung gilt: der Kaiser verweist auch damit lediglich auf die alten Wohnsitze der Ungarn, die Abfassung des Textes läßt aber eher vermuten, daß sich der Kaiser mehr für die Flüsse der Petscheneggen interessiert hat. Allerdings paßt diese Topographie für das gemeinsame Gebiet von Etelköz und Leved schon mit ziemlicher Richtigkeit. Konstantin definiert übrigens im 37. Kapitel die Wohngebiete der „diesseits des Dnepr“ hausenden vier westlichen Stämme der Petscheneggen; er versetzt sie weit westwärts, nämlich in die Nähe von *Βουλγαρία, Τονκία* (= der Karpatenbecken) und *Πωσία*.

Es gibt bei Konstantin eine Stelle, die sich in erster Linie vielleicht gerade auf Etelköz beziehen dürfte. Im 8. Kapitel, anlässlich der diplomatischen Mission des Klerikers Gabriel, läßt der Kaiser den schon in ihre neue, endgültige Heimat eingezogenen Ungarn (d. h. nach der Landnahme) sagen: sie mögen die Petscheneggen von ihrem Boden vertreiben — zumal der ja früher sowieso ungarischer Besitz war —, damit sie näher zum Kaiser seien und leichter Gesandte zu ihm schicken können. Diese „Nähe“ kann nur

das Territorium der Petscheneggen an der unteren Donau betreffen, worauf übrigens am Anfang des Kapitels ein klarer Hinweis zu finden ist.

Aus meinen bisherigen Auseinandersetzungen geht hervor, daß ich Leved und Etelköz für zwei nahe aneinander liegende Gegenden halte. Ich möchte sagen, das zeitliche und räumliche Verhältnis von Etelköz zu Leved wird etwa dadurch gekennzeichnet, daß das Ungartum genötigt war, sich vor den aus dem Osten kommenden ständigen Angriffen und Behelligungen (vor allem seitens der Petscheneggen) in Sicherheit zu bringen und so von Leved etwas westwärts zu ziehen. Dieser Landwechsel war vielleicht gar nicht so weitreichend; die Wohnsitze in Leved und im Etelköz konnten an bestimmten Abschnitten gebietsmäßig an- oder ineinandergreifen, Berührungszonen aufweisen (s.: Vernadsky a. a. O. 186; Artamonow a. a. O., 336 ff.; vgl. noch Kristó a. a. O. 117—8). Ferner ist auch nicht außer acht zu lassen, daß wenn auch Leved seinen Fürstensitz weiter nach Westen verlegt hat, deshalb noch keine ähnliche Verlegung sämtlicher ungarischer Stammesbezirke eintreten mußte, vielmehr kann man sich auch vorstellen, daß die in der Leved-Periode westlich vom Kernland Leved gelegenen Stämme weiterhin dort geblieben sind (was sinngemäß auch dazu führen mußte, daß sie in der späteren, Etelközer Periode die östlichen Randgebiete besetzt hielten). Jedenfalls wird Etelköz — über die weitgehende Gleichheit der physiographischen Verhältnisse hinaus — den alten Bewohnern Leveds keine ganz neue, unbekannte Heimat bedeutet haben. Diese Vermutung steht nicht nur in keinem Gegensatz zu unseren sämtlichen Folgerungen, sondern dürfte auch dem Bericht Konstantins über den Heimatwechsel des von Leved angeführten Ungartums nicht unbedingt widersprechen.

9. Weitere Lokalisationsfaktoren für Leved und Etelköz. — Daß die Ungarn vor der Landnahme nicht — wie bisher viele annahmen — 5 bis 6 Jahre, sondern mindestens ebensoviel Jahrzehnte lang westlich vom Dnepr sesshaft waren, erst in einem Raum, welchen der Bug, später in einem, den der Dnestr bestimmt hat — womit also gesagt ist, daß sie die Don-Gegend schon längst verlassen hatten — findet auch andere Beweisgründe. Im folgenden möchte auch diese kurz berühren.

A) Die noch der Landnahme vorangegangenen *slawisch — ungarischen Beziehungen* sind — als Forschungsthema überhaupt — gegenüber den türkischen Kontakt bis zur jüngsten Zeit ziemlich vernachlässigt worden (s. immerhin Melichs, Kniezsas, neuerdings Barthas, Királys und Rots einschlägige Untersuchungen). Dabei gibt es etliche Zeichen dafür, daß solche Beziehungen vorhanden, ja in den Jahrzehnten vor der Landnahme sehr weitverzweigt und intensiv waren. Hier sei lediglich an zwei Dinge erinnert.

Einerseits findet man in den mohammedanischen und in den altslawischen Quellen unzählige Hinweise über ungarisch—slawische Kontakte und Beziehungen, von der einfachen Nachbarschaft bis zu den friedlichen — oder feindlichen — Beziehungen, von Kriegen mit Unterwerfung, Tribut- und Steuerzahlen bis zum friedlichen Handel, sogar Sklavenhandel. Wo die mohammedanischen Quellen die Wohnsitze der Ungarn so beschreiben, daß man mit gewißheit an die Region Bug—Dnestr denken muß — man möchte wohl sagen, von allen in Frage gekommenen Gegenden nördlich des Schwarzen Meeres ist dies die *z u t r e f f e n d s t e* (s. Zichy: AkÉrt. XXXVII, 181) —, knüpfen sich diese Schilderungen an Hinweise über die Slawen bzw. stehen nach solchen. Besonders die Texte von Bakhri und Gardisi enthalten solche Stellen, die sich auf die gemeinsame, gleichzeitige Anwesenheit in demselben Raum — möglicherweise auf ein ungarisch—slawisches Zusammenleben — beziehen dürften.

Andrerseits kennen wir im Ungarischen eine beträchtliche Zahl solcher slawischer Lehnwörter, die bestimmt oder vermutlich aus dem altostslawischen (altrussisch, altukrainisch) stammen, u. zw. noch aus den Zeiten vor der Landnahme (im einzelnen s. hauptsächlich: Kniezsa: SzIJs.; TESz.). Unter diesen Entlehnungen gibt es auch solche wichtige Ortsbestimmende Elemente wie der Flußname *Duna* sowie die Volksnamen *lengyel* und *görög*, ferner wichtige Kulturwörter, die eine Koexistenz voraussetzen wir *varsa*, *szégye*, *tanya*; vgl. noch *jász*, *halom*, *kerecset*, *vajda* usw. Von einer anderen Seite sprechen für sehr frühe ungarisch—slawische Berührungen die türksprachliche Entlehnung *orosz* 'ostslawisch, Ostslawe' sowie der Volksname unbestimmbaren Herkunft *tót* 'i. a. slawisch, Slawe (in der alten Sprache)'; diese kommen als Lehnwörter aus der Zeit vor der Landnahme ernsthaft in Betracht.

Es ist klar, daß die slawisch—ungarischen Angaben in den Quellen, sowie die als Vor-Landnahme-Entlehnungen zu bewertenden Sprachelemente altostslawischen Ursprungs oder von ostslawischem Belang solcher Art sind, daß sie nicht im Laufe von ein paar Jahren entstehen konnten, sondern *e n g e r e u n d l ä n g e r d a u e r n d e K o n t a k t e v o r a u s s e t z e n*. Diese Kontakte waren aber in ihrer Art, von unserem Thema her sehr wesentlich territorial, topographisch bedingt. Die Siedlungsgrenze der Ostslawen verlief nicht nur im 9., sondern auch noch im 10. Jh. ein wenig ostwärts der Buglinie, aber auch noch verhältnismäßig weit hinter dem großen Ostknie des Dnepr; beim Mittellauf des Dnepr reichte sie ca. bis zur Mündung des Psjol, sodann Richtung Nord-Nordost, um den Don erst bei seinem obersten Lauf, etwa an der Mündung des Woronesh zu erreichen (s. z. B.: Niederle, L.: Slovánské starožitnosti [Slawische Altertümer] I/4, Karte; Очерки истории СССР. IX.—XIII. BB. Карты No. 1., 3., 4.; Słownik St. Sław. I, 338, III, 52, IV, 228 usw.; vgl. noch Erdélyi: ÓstörtTan. 77, Karte; s. ferner z. B.: Pauler: Száz. XIV, 5, 12; Bartha a. a. O. 39, 42; Erdélyi: ÓstörtTan. 65;

Kristó a. a. O. 121; Király: MTud. 1980: 360). Bei dieser Lage der Dinge konnten länger währende und engere ethnische und sprachliche Beziehungen zwischen dem Ungartum und dem Slawentum vor der Landnahme in erster Reihe westlich und nördlich des Bugs zustande gekommen sein; von dort ostwärts wohl schon kaum; es sei denn, im Zusammenhang mit Raubzügen aus der Don—Mäotis-Gegend weit nach Norden hinauf, was jedoch die erwähnten geschichtlich-sprachlichen Erscheinungen keinesfalls erklären könnte.

B) Ibn Rustah erzählt, daß die Ungarn in dem *Krḥ* heißen Hafen des Römerreichs slawische Sklaven gegen Tauschwaren verkaufen. Dieses *Krḥ* konnte bis heute noch nicht mit Gewißheit identifiziert werden. In der Hauptsache stehen hier zwei Lehrmeinungen einander gegenüber: 1. *Krḥ* wäre der einstige Hafen *Karkinitis* ~ *Karkinit* ~ *Karkina* südöstlich vom „Liman“ bzw. von der Brackwasserzone des Dnepr, am Nordufer der Karkinit-Bucht (s. z. B.: Chwolson, D. A.: Известія о Хозарахъ, Булгарахъ . . . Sankt Petersburg 1869, 121; Pauler: Száz. XIV, 6; Fehér: Száz. XLVII, 580; vgl. noch: Niederle a. a. O. I/4, 120; Németh a. a. O. 156). — 2. Es wäre das heutige *Kertsch* am östlichsten Zipfel der Halbinsel Krim (s. z. B.: Kuun: MHK. 169; Czeglédy: MgŐstört. 114, MNyTK. No. 140, 46; Király: MNy. LXX, 167, MTud. 1980: 359; vgl. noch Németh a. a. O. 156). Auf sonstige, weniger wahrscheinliche Identifikationen (Cherson, Tamatarcha) will ich hier nicht eingehen (s. Németh a. a. O. 155—7).

Die Erklärung mit *Kertsch* kann man auf rein sprachlicher Basis schwerlich beurteilen. Diese Stadt ist in den mohammedanischen Quellen sonst nirgends genannt. Die antiken Quellen nennen sie *Panticapaion* und *Bosporos*, im Mittelalter ist sie meistens unter dem Namen *Vospro*, *Vespro* bekannt. Bei Konstantin liest man immer *Βόσπορος*. Die Ungeklärtheit des Etymons (s. Kiss a. a. O. 329) bringt die chronologische Frage auch nicht weiter. In Quellen aus dem 10. Jh. erscheint zuerst die Form *Kerz*, *Krz* (Niederle a. a. O. I/4, 120). Ob die von Ibn Rustah gebrauchte Form *Krḥ* mit dem Stadtnamen identisch ist, bleibt wegen dem Auslautkonsonanten bestenfalls problematisch. Die Hypothese *Krḥ* = *Kertsch* wird auch noch dadurch geschwächt, daß die ungarischen Sklavenhändler so um die Siebziger—Achtzigerjahre herum dort tätig waren, doch ist gerade für diesen Zeitraum die byzantinische Herrschaft in bzw. über Bosporos (*Kertsch*) ziemlich zweifelhaft (vgl. Zichy: AkÉrt. XXXVII, 173) Ibn Rustah schreibt hingegen, daß *Krḥ* ganz entschieden im Besitz der „Römer“ war (s. auch weiter unten).

Karkinitis ~ *Karkinit* ~ *Karkina* war eine vom Altertum her bekannte griechische Kolonie (s. z. B.: Chwolson a. a. O. 121; Németh a. a. O. 156; Słownik Star. Ślaw. III, 376). Die Kontinuität des Ortsnamens läßt sich bis auf heute verfolgen und beweisen. Eine Bucht des Schwarzen Meeres, die zwischen der Nogai-Steppe und dem nordwestlichen Teil der Krim bis zur

Meerenge von Perekop reicht, heißt auch gegenwärtig *Каркинитский Залив* bzw. *Каркинитска Затока* (Konstantin nennt diese Bucht *Νεκρόπνλα*). In einer nördlichen Ausbuchtung dieses Meerbusens war *Karkinitis* ~ *Karkina*. Daß jene Autoren, die den Hafen *Krḥ* der arabischen Quelle damit identifiziert haben, keine falsche Spur verfolgten, dürfte auch durch ein anderes Moment bekräftigt werden. Dort nämlich, wo das einstigen *Karkinitis* ~ *Karkina* gelegen sein konnte, befindet sich ein kleiner Hafen der Karkinitis-Bucht: das spätere (bzw. heutige) *Капа* (= *Karha*; auf manchen Karten, seltener, auch als *Емануилова* eingetragen). Die Gleichheit des Ortes läßt vermuten, daß es sich hier um mehr handelt, als eine zufällige Namensähnlichkeit; es erweckt den Verdacht, daß evtl. ein *onomastischer Zusammenhang* vorliegt. Eine richtige Beurteilung der Frage wird aber dadurch erschwert, daß die Form *Капа* als Ortsname eigentlich mit dem türkischen Wort *karya* 'Krähe, Rabe, Falke' zusammenfällt (darauf hat mich István Erdélyi aufmerksam gemacht). Das wahrscheinlich lautmalende Wort *karya* ist vielen türkischen Sprachen gemein und war schon im Altürkischen vorhanden (s.: Radlow: *Слов Тюрк.* II, 191; Pais: *MNy.* XXVIII, 156—7; Rásonyi: *MNy.* LII, 55; Räsänen: *EtWb.* 237). Möglich, daß das ungarische Wort *karvaly* 'Sperber' damit irgendwie verwandt ist (s.: Németh: *MNy.* XXXIX, 102—3; *TESz.*). Beim Namen der Ortschaft *Karha* muß man also — auch angesichts der geographischen Lage — eine alttürkische Namensgebung zumindest als Möglichkeit annehmen. Das bedeutet aber nicht unbedingt einen Ausschließungsgrund für eine Beziehung zum Namen *Karkinitis* ~ *Karkina*, da der von den byzantinischen Griechen benützte Name im Türkischen im Wege der — aus der Toponomastik wohl bekannten Volksetymologie so weiterleben konnte — die Ähnlichkeit der Stammformen lieferte dafür eine hinreichende Grundlage. Der Verdacht einer volksetymologischen Beeinflussung der türkischen Variante wird auch dadurch einigermaßen genährt, daß die mit türk. *karya* zusammenhängenden Ortsnamen gewöhnlich in einer suffigierten Form (*Kargali*, *Kargalik*, *Kargala* u. dgl.) vorzukommen pflegen (vgl. auch Rásonyi: *MNy.* LII, 55—6); in den Ortsnamenverzeichnissen für den türkischen Sprachraum sind diese Namen recht häufig, für den suffixlosen Gebrauch als Ortsnamen habe ich in Ortsnamenbüchern allerdings noch kein Beispiel gefunden.

Die allem Anschein nach alte Wechselform *Karha* dürfte darauf hinweisen, daß die byzantino-griechischen Namen *Karkinitis* ~ *Karkinit* ~ *Karkina* einst auch solche Varianten gehabt haben dürften, die bei Weglassung der Endungen den *Namensstamm* enthielten. Der *Krḥ* des Ibn Rustah wird wohl das widerspiegeln.

Beim Identifizieren von *Karkina* hat Németh (a. a. O. 155—6) nur darin ein Problem gesehen, daß er eine der arabischen Form *Krḥ* entsprechende Kurzform dieses Toponyms nicht produzieren konnte. Er wußte nämlich von

der Kontinuität des Namens noch nicht; hatte den späteren Ortsnamen *Kappa* nicht gekannt. Ansonsten hat er aber darauf hingewiesen, daß die Gleichsetzung *Krh* = *Karkina* sachlich einwandfrei ist: für die Ungarn, die mit ihrer lebenden Ware aus der Richtung Kiew, Dnepr und Bug kamen, mußte dieser Platz sehr gelegen gewesen sein. Denn, sollten sie auch die Krim aufgesucht haben, viel wahrscheinlicher ist, daß sie ihre slawische Menschenware im viel näheren Karkina verkauften, als mit den Sklaven bis nach Kertsch, ans andere Ende der Krim zu wandern. Im 42. Kapitel bemerkt übrigens Konstantin, daß es zwischen dem Dnepr und Cherson — in der Nekropyla — mehrere Häfen gibt, wo die Byzantiner auch Salz gewinnen. Ein solcher Nekropyla-Hafen war, wahrscheinlich westlich von Karkina, auch das vom Kaiser ebenfalls an dieser Stelle erwähnte Adara. Die Bucht von Karinit stand demnach auch noch im 10. Jahrhundert im Einflußbereich Konstantinopels, daher trifft auf Karkina zu, was Ibn Rustah sagt: *Krh* sei ein „römischer“ Hafen (vgl. auch Chwolson a. a. O. 121). Wenn auch die arabische Quelle als Stätte des Sklavenhandels das — m. E. mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit dem späteren Karkina gleichzusetzende — *Krh* bezeichnet, ist freilich leicht möglich, daß die byzantinischen Kaufleute aus Cherson oder aus irgendeiner anderen Stadt der Chersoner Kolonien bzw. auch aus diesen zu kommen pflegten, zumal ja Ibn Rustah sagt, daß die Händler samt Sklaven den in *Krh* weilenden Ungarn zwecks Tätigkeit des Kaufhandels entgegenkamen. Das gäbe freilich keinen Grund zu einer Identifikation *Krh* = *Cherson*, was übrigens auch onomasiologisch ausgeschlossen wäre. Und das Kaufleute aus Cherson oder aus der Klima-Gegend auf den Sklavenmarkt nach Kertsch gereist wären, um dort mit den Ungarn Geschäfte zu schließen, hätte auch aus geographischen Gründen keinen Sinn gehabt.

Nur das „Don-Problem“ läßt mich noch einmal darauf zurückzukehren, daß Karkinitis — aber freilich auch die Landenge von Perekop, über welche man ja mit den Sklaven schließlich auch in die Krim hätte ziehen können — verhältnismäßig nahe zum Bug liegt, aber vielfach weiter vom Don.

C) Im Bericht von Bakri steht, daß die eine Grenze der Ungarn an die Grenze der Römer stößt; auch die Vermittler des Textes von Balkhi bemerken, daß die Ungarn und Petscheneggen Nachbarn der Römer waren. Darauf weiterbauend, glauben nicht wenige (Zichy: *AkÉrt.* XXXVII, 180; Németh a. a. O. 161; Czeglédy: *MgÖstört.* 114, MNy. XLI, 38; Erdélyi: *ÖstörtTan.* 66), daß der ungarische Siedlungsraum unmittelbar an die Krim angrenzte. Bei Ibn Rustah, Gardisi und 'Aufi ist aber etwas anderes zu lesen, und zwar daß das Land der Ungarn bis ans Meer der Römer reicht — bis dorthin, wo die zwei Flüsse, die das Land der Ungarn umsäumen, ins Meer münden. Da nun die Berichte Ibn Rustas und Gardisis nicht nur ausführlicher, sondern auch viel verlässlicher sind, als die sich als eine ziemlich dürftige Kompilation darbietende Schilderung Bakris, ist es höchst wahrscheinlich, daß der Hinweis

auf das Meer der Römer die genaue Angabe ist, bzw. daß der Dshaihanī-Text in diesem treu wiedergegeben ist.

Anstelle der „römischen“ (oströmischen) Nachbarschaft der Ungarn müßte daher richtig und genau *Schwarze-Meer-Nachbarschaft* stehen. Der fragliche Küstenabschnitt des Schwarzen Meeres ist dementsprechend einzige allein der Abschnitt zwischen der Donau und der Nekropyla m. a. W. die Mündungsgegend der Flüsse Dnestr, Tiliul, Bug und Dnepr; ein Küstenabschnitt, welchen Konstantin im 42. Kapitel als *χρυσός λεγόμενος αἰγιαλός* 'sogenannte Goldküste' bezeichnet. Die Krimküste kann aber auf keinen Fall jener Küstenstrich des Meeres der Römer gewesen sein, den man mit ungarisch besiedelten Gebieten in Zusammenhang bringen könnte; die Ungarn konnten dort schon deshalb nicht gewohnt haben, weil sich entlang dieses Küstenabschnitts die byzantinischen Kolonien der Cherson- und Klimaregion befand. Davon, daß die damaligen Quartiere der Ungarn in der Nachbarschaft der Krim gelegen wären, kann nur in dem Sinn die Rede sein, daß der vom Karkinit-Busen (von der Nekropyla) westlich gelegene „ungarische“ Küstenabschnitt — das „Goldufer“ — tatsächlich nicht weit von der Krim zu finden war — jedoch nicht unmittelbar daneben.

D) Unter den mohammedanischen Quellen sind gleich zwei, die ein solches Nachbarvolk der Ungarn aus der Zeit vor der Landnahme nennen, das für die Ortsbestimmung hohen Wert besitzt, und mitunter auch chronologischen Wert haben dürfte. Gardisi schreibt, daß an dem Fluß, der links von den Ungarn fließt, in der Nähe der Slawen ein zu den Römern gehörendes Volk lebt. Sie sind Christen, ihr Name ist *n.n.d.r.*, sie sind zahlreicher, als die Ungarn, aber schwächer als jene, und die Ungarn sehen dieses Volk vom Ufer der Donau aus. Nach dem Hudud al-'ālam ist südlich der Ungarn ein christlicher Volksstamm ansässig, der *w.n.n.d.r.* genannt wird; im Westen und Norden davon sind die Russen beheimatet. An der Authentizität der beiden sehr übereinstimmenden Angaben ist nicht zu zweifeln; ihre gemeinsame Quelle ist offenbar der Text des Dshaihanī (s.: Marquart a. a. O. 30—4; Czeglédy: MgÖstört. 112, MNy. XLI, 38—44, NytudÉrt. Nr. 5. 33).

Für den behandelten Gegenstand hat die Frage nach dem Etymon des Volksnamens *n.n.d.r.* ~ *w.n.n.d.r.* weniger Interesse, wie auch sein Verhältnis zu dem Volksnamen *onogur*, *onogundur* und damit auch zum Namen der Magyaren o. Ungarn *ungri* u. ä. Viel wichtiger ist für uns hier der Umstand, daß sich der Volksname in beiden mohammedanischen Quellen ohne den leisesten Zweifel auf die *Donaubulgaren* bezieht (s. z. B.: Czeglédy: MgÖstört. 112, MNy. XLI, 41, 45, NytudÉrt. Nr. 5. 32; Györffy: A magyarok elődeiről és a honfoglalásról [Über die Vorfahren der Ungarn und die Landnahme]. Budapest 1958, 6—7; Király: MNy. LXXII, 414—5; vgl. noch Moravcsik: MNy. XXVI, 18, 92). Die Donaubulgaren haben sich i. J. 864 endgültig zum Christentum bekehrt; die Hinweise auf ihre Zugehörigkeit

zu den „Römern“ sowie über ihre Schwäche im Vergleich zu den Ungarn — beides von Gardīsī — finden ihre Erklärung einestails in den engen (zeitweise zu einem Bündnis erstarkten) bulgarisch-byzantinischen Beziehungen, anderenteils in dem für die Bulgaren unglücklichen Kämpfe mit den Ungarn (s. weiter unten). Aus dem Inhalt der mohammedanische Texte, die sich auf die Donaubulgaren beziehen, ferner auf Grund der bekannten Niederlassung der Donaubulgaren folgt logisch, daß die bulgarisch—ungarische Nachbarschaftszone nur die Gegend der unteren Donau und ihrer Delta gewesen sein konnte, was zugleich auf die Anwesenheit der Ungarn in einem Landstrich Donau — Süd-Bessarabien — Dnestr schließen läßt — ganz und gar im Einklang mit den besprochenen Textstellen über die Nachbarschaft der Slawen und das Meer der Römer. — Da nun die Schilderung Dshaihanis die für die Siebzigerjahre des 9. Jahrhunderts geltenden Verhältnisse betreffen, gewinnt man auch wertvolle Anhaltspunkte zur Chronologie der Etelközter Wohnstätten der Ungarn. Nichts zwingt nämlich zu der Annahme, daß diese Textstellen der mohammedanischen Autoren, aus welchen auf eine bulgarisch-ungarische Nachbarschaft geschlossen werden kann, chronologisch auszuklammern wären und auf die Verhältnisse nach 889 Bezug hätten. Es wäre auch an den Haaren herbeigezogen, daß die Ungarn in den Siebzigerjahren auf einmal weit von Osten her, aus der Dongegend kommend, nur einmal oder zeitweise an der Donau erschienen wären, woraus sich ihr Kontakt mit den Bulgaren ergeben hätte.

Der Volksname *n.n.d.r* ~ *w.n.n.d.r* führt auch noch zu anderen interessanten hungarologischen Erkenntnissen. Er entpuppt sich nämlich als die alte ungarische Benennung der Bulgaren *nándor* (s. z. B.: Eckhart: MNy. V, 311—2; Györffy: A magyarok elődeiről . . . 7; Czeglédy: MNyTK. No. 14., 53; Király: MNy. LXXII, 415—6). Möglicherweise hatten die Ungarn die Onogur-Bulgaren — nicht nur die von der Donau, sondern auch die aus dem Osten — schon seit langem, so auch vor dem 9. Jh. *nándor* genannt, welcher Name aus dem Bulgarotürkischen ins Ungarische übergegangen ist. Aus einem bulgarotürkischen **vnandur* — eine Form, deren Realität nicht nur auf Grund des Hudūd, sondern auch anderer orientalischer Quellen als gesichert erscheint — hätte aber im Ungarischen eine Variante **unandor* oder **onandor* entstehen müssen; vgl. ung. *olasz*, *oláh*, *unoka* usw. So besehen wäre die direkte Entlehnungsquelle eines Volksnamens von der Form *nándor* vorläufig unbestimmt, wahrscheinlich ist dafür, daß in der gebenden Sprache ein *na-* am Wortanfang stehen mußte. Eben auch darum verdient das Allograph *n.n.d.r* bei Gardīsī große Beachtung. Denn sei es auch mit einem arabischen Schreibfehler zu erklären (s. Czeglédy: MNy. XLI, 44), es könnte genauso auch die in der gebenden Sprache, oder gerade im Ungarischen existierte Variante darstellen. Auffallend ist auch, daß die *nándor* Benennung der Donaubulgaren — zurückzuführen auf *onogundur*, *onogur* (s. Moravcsik: MNy.

XXVI, 93, 106) — nur im Ungarischen das 9. u. d. 10. Jahrhundert überdauert hat; in allen anderen Sprachen — auch im Bulgarischen selbst wie auch später im Ungarischen — der Namenstyp *bolgár*, *bulgár* alleinig blieb. Hingegen das Ungartum hatte den Namen *nándor* seit Urzeiten, jahrhundertlang gekannt und zur Bezeichnung der Donaubulgaren benützt.

Wahrscheinlich stammt der alte ungarische Name von Belgrad *Nándor-fehérvár* auch noch aus der Zeit vor der Landnahme. Der mit dem attributiven Vorderglied *nándor* gebildete ungarische Namen dieser Stadt konnte sehr wohl schon früh entstehen, da doch der Bulgarenkhan Krum das heutige Belgrad schon i. J. 809 erobert hatte, danach waren die Bulgaren vom Ende des 9. bis zum Anfang des 11. Jahrhunderts ohne Unterbrechung Herren der Stadt bzw. der Festung. Ein interessantes Moment ist außerdem, das ein auf die Bulgaren hinweisender Name von Belgrad auch nur im Ungarischen bzw. im ungarländischen Latein erhalten blieb: zuerst bei Anonymus als *Alba Bulgaria*, später 1336: „Castrum *Nandoralbense*“, 1357: *Nandurfeiruar* usw.; in den ungarischen Chroniken und in anderen frühen ungarischen Quellen steht noch *Alba Bulgarica*, *Alba Bulgariae*, *Albanandor*, *Nandoralba*, *Landor* usw. (s. z. B.: Melich: MNy. V, 165—7, 367—70; Eckhart: MNy. V, 311—3; Baróti: MNy. XIII, 233—5; Király: MNy. LXXII, 415; Kiss a. a. O. 101). In anderen Sprachen findet sich keine Spur davon; vgl. lat. *Singidunum*, gr. *Σινγιδών*, sl. *Belgrad*, dt. (veralt.) *Griechisch Wizenburch* usw. Konstantin spricht immer nur von *Βελέγραδα* (Kap. 32., 40., 42.). Der Volksnamen *nándor* hat dagegen seit langher im Ungarischen gelebt, was außer dem *Nándorfehérvár* noch viele alte Ortsnamen und Personennamen beweisen: um 1200: Pers. *Nandir* (PRT. VIII, 270); um 1247: Ortsn. *Nandur* (MNy. X, 277); usw. (s. noch: Eckhart: MNy. V, 312; Király: MNy. LXXII, 415). Der alleinig ungarische Gebrauch des Volksnamens *nándor* 'Donaubulgare' verrät jedenfalls starke und frühe ungarisch-bulgarische Beziehungen, ganz gewiß noch aus der Zeit vor der Landnahme.

E) Zur Frage der geographischen Verteilung des Ungartums in den Jahrzehnten vor der Landnahme ist besonders aufschlußreich zu untersuchen, wo, in welchen Gegenden die zeitgenössischen Quellen über die Feldzüge, Streifzüge der Ungarn berichten. Ob die Reihe dieser Geschehen mit dem Jahr 811, der angenommenen Teilnahme von Ungarn im Balkankrieg zwischen Nikephoros I und Krum beginnt (s. Király: MNy. LXXII, 43, 49, MTud. 1980: 361), mag noch arg bezweifelt werden (vgl. z. B. Kristó a. a. O., 18). Desgleichen kann man auch das nicht mit voller Exaktheit beweisen, daß die südbessarabische Mazedonieransiedlung Krums i. J. 813 sowie der 818—820 nordöstlich der unteren Donau geführte Feldzug der Donaubulgaren gegen die Ungarn gerichtet war (s.: Moravcsik: MNy. XXVI, 108; Zlatarski und Lewicki folgend Király: MNy. LXXIII, 46—7; Mijatow, P.: Tanulmányok a bolgár—magyar kapcsolatok köréből [Studien über die bulgarisch-

ungarischen Beziehungen]. Budapest 1981, 132). Von den Jahren um 830 anscheinen aber die Belegstellen, die sich möglicherweise auf die Ungarn beziehen, volle Bestimmtheit gewinnen. Um 836 herum nehmen auch Ungarn in byzantinisch-bulgarischen Kämpfen an der unteren Donau teil. I. J. 862 kämpfen Ungarn gegen die Franken, vermutlich auf dem Boden des heutigen Österreichs. 881 erscheinen Ungarn und Kabaren vereint unter Wien. Aus dem Jahr 882 weiß man von einer Begegnung Methods mit Ungarn, die wahrscheinlich auf bulgarischem Boden stattfand, usw. (s. über all dies ausführlicher z. B. Hóman—Szekfű: MTört.² I, 67; Moravcsik: Byzture. I, 58; Czeglédy: MgÖstört. 117, 121, MNy. XLI, 54; Deér: MgÖstört. 256—7; Király: MNy. LXX, 8—10, 269 ff., LXXII, 264, 416, LXXIII, 43, 46 usw.; Kristó a. a. O. 91—4; Györffy: ÖstörtTan. 142—3; Mijatew a. a. O. 132—4).

Obwohl für ein Reitervolk auch ganz weite Exkursionen möglich sind, wäre schwer anzunehmen, daß die Serie der obigen Geschehnisse ohne einer dauernden Präsenz des Ungartums vor 889 in dem westlich vom Dnepr gelegenen Raum möglich gewesen wäre bzw. daß diese kriegerischen Unternehmungen im viel entfernteren Dongebiet ihren Ausgangspunkt gehabt hätten. Wir müssen Györffy (ÖstörtTan. 145) darin zustimmen, daß unsere Vorfahren auch in diesen Fällen nicht aufs Geratewohl auf den Balkan oder nach Mitteleuropa eingedrungen sind, sondern gewöhnlich schon vor-erkundete Gebiete aufsuchten, wohin sie von byzantinischen, bulgarischen, mährischen, fränkischen usw. Gesandten gerufen worden waren. Diese Anforderungen werden aber gewiß dem näher ansässigen, „westlichen“ Teil des Ungartums gegolten haben. Daß die Ungarn aus näher gelegenen Stützpunkten, nicht von so weit Osten, auf ihre Streifzüge nach dem Westen aufgebrochen sind, ist übrigens auch früher schon manchen in den Sinn gekommen (s.: Jagić: MHK. 353; Moravcsik: Byzture. I, 58; Czeglédy: MgÖstört. 117; Király: MNy. LXX, 9, LXXIII, 44).

All dem widerspricht durchaus nicht die Tatsache, daß aus dem betreffenden Zeitraum — d. h. vor der Landnahme — außer den westwärts gerichteten Unternehmungen auch eine anderweitige Präsenz bekannt ist; man denke an das Treffen mit Cyrill, das wahrscheinlich in der Krim, in der Gegend von Cherson stattfand (s. dazu bes. Király: MNy. LXX, 6—7, 157 ff.). Es ist auch nicht ausgeschlossen, daß die Ungarn zu jener Zeit als Verbündete der Chasaren (bzw. auf deren Befehl) in dieser Gegend ihre Aktionen geführt haben — gerade damals haben ja auch die Chasaren auf der Krim gehaust —, was aber nur ein politisches Machtverhältnis ausdrückt und nicht eine Herkunft der Ungarn aus der Dongegend bestimmt. Zeit und Ort der Begegnung mit Cyrill läßt sich aber sehr gut in den damaligen, von der Krim unweit westlich gewesenen Aufenthalt der Ungarn einfügen (über die vielen ähnlichen Lokalisationsideen s. die Literaturübersicht bei Király: MNy. LXX, 157—64).

10. Zusammenfassung. — Die Hauptpunkte meiner Auffassung über die Geschichte des Ungartums vor der Landnahme — die sich für mich nicht aus ein paar willkürlich herausgegriffenen Details, sondern aus der Gesamtheit der m. E. in diesem Zusammenhang ausschlaggebenden Kriterien ergeben — sind wie folgt: Die mit den Ortsnamen *Lëved* und *Etëlköz* belegten Gebiete lagen westlich vom Unterlauf des Dnepr, in relative Nähe zueinander, evtl. sich geographisch Überdeckend. Die alten Ungarn hatten in diesem Raum (der ung. die Größe des Karpatenbeckens erreichte) nicht bloße paar Jahr, sondern über ein halbes Jahrhundert verbracht. In diesem Raum und innerhalb dieser Zeit konzentrierten sich die Quartiere der ungarischen Stämme von den Dreißigerjahren des 9. Jahrhunderts an eher in der Bugregion, von Sechziger-Siebzigerjahren angefangen aber mehr in der Region des Dnestr. Eine engere Verbundenheit der ungarischen Geschichte mit dem Dongebiet kommt daher nur vom ersten Drittel des 9. Jahrhunderts zurückgezählt in Frage. Im Verhältnis Leved—Etelköz ist aber das Jahr 889 weder zeitlich noch räumlich irgendein Markstein im Leben unserer Vorfahren, höchstens der Anfangspunkt einer mit allerdings großen Veränderungen einhergehenden Geschehensreihe — der Landnahme —, bzw. deren Vorbereitung und Einleitung.

Wenn auch viele Teilaussagen meiner Studie lehrgeschichtlich mehr oder weniger begründet sind — was ja auch eine natürliche Folge der überreichen Literatur der Leved—Etelköz-Frage ist — mußte ich in Bezug auf den ganzen Fragenkomplex, bzw. einige Hauptsätze betreffend, von früher her eingewurzelte oder gerade vorherrschende Lehrmeinungen bestreiten. Sollte das zu weiteren Auseinandersetzungen führen, werden solche Diskussion nur dazu angetan sein, der historischen Wahrheit den Weg zu bahnen, und werden jedenfalls die Erkenntnisse unser urgeschichtlichen Forschungen mehren.

THE SYNTACTIC STRUCTURE AND INTONATIONAL SEGMENTATION OF HUNGARIAN SENTENCES

By

LÁSZLÓ VARGA

0. Introduction

The term *utterance* is used here in the sense of a spoken sentence (simple, complex or compound) which is not included in any higher-ranking spoken sentence. The intonational segmentation of an utterance is the division of the utterance into parts by intonational delimitation forms. Intonational delimitation forms are particular combinations of pause-related and pitch-related boundary signals.

The functional unit of intonation is the tone-group. However, the parts of the utterance resulting from its intonational segmentation are not necessarily separate tone-groups, because the tone-group boundary is just one of the possible intonational delimitation forms.¹ The general term for the utterance-parts between which some form of intonational delimitation appears will be *intonational block*. Since the delimitation forms are of various kinds, the intonational blocks have no uniform phonological status. The places where some form of intonational delimitation occurs (i.e. the points at which intonational blocks are formed) are in most cases determined by the syntactic surface structure of the Hungarian utterance. In these cases the intonational blocks coincide with the immediate constituents of syntactic constructions: they are syntactically motivated.² In some cases, however, the intonational blocks are pragmatically motivated. Each intonational block is composed of one or more than one lower-ranking intonational block.

The actual form of intonational delimitation at a particular point is determined by several factors, the most important of which are a) the syntactic and pragmatic labels of the blocks to be delimited, and b) the previous intonational choices (the stressing and the independent tone of the highest-ranking block). Intonational segmentation, then, is not a matter of free performance, but a process determined mainly by syntactic and previously established prosodic factors. If these factors are known, intonational segmentation is predictable.

¹ This is why intonational segmentation is not the same as Halliday's "tonality". The latter is the division of the speech flow into tone-groups (cf. Halliday 1967, 18-21).

² Syntactically motivated intonational blocks can also be called *tonosyntactic* blocks. Tonosyntax is that part of syntax which is expressed by intonational means (cf. Hetzron 1980, 390).

The present study will examine the intonational segmentation of Hungarian utterances, and especially its dependence on surface syntax. First of all, however, we must make it clear what we mean by certain syntactic and intonational terms we are going to use.

1. On Syntax, Intonation, and Intonational Blocks

1.1. The Hungarian Sentence

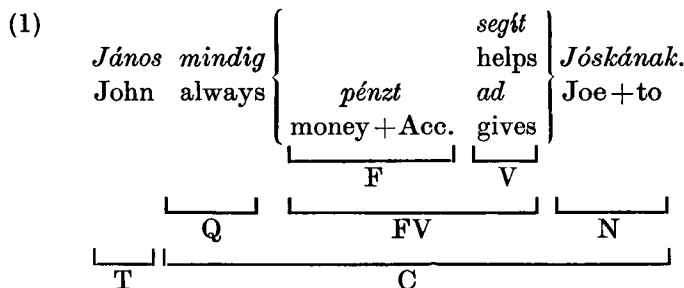
According to É. Kiss (1981a, 188) there are four major syntactic positions in the Hungarian sentence: (a) the T or *t o p i c* position, occupied by one or more or nil T-constituents, in any order; (b) the F or *f o c u s* position, filled by one or nil F-constituent; (c) the V or *v e r b* position, filled by the V-constituent; and (d) the *p o s t v e r b a l* position (which I abbreviate as N-position), occupied by one or more or nil N-constituents, in any order. É. Kiss (1981b, 318–21) recognizes a fifth position as well, the one between the T and F positions. This is the Q or *q u a n t o r* position, occupied by one or more or nil Q-constituents, whose order is subject to scope restrictions.

The V-constituent is a verb, the others (i.e. those filling the T, Q, F or N-positions) are nonverb sentence constituents, i.e. verb complements in the broad sense. The T and N-constituents can be replaced by subordinate clauses. The Q-constituent is a universally or near-universally quantified expression (e.g. *mindenki* = 'everybody', *teljesen* = 'completely'; *sokan* = 'many', *nagyon* = 'very much').

The constituents that follow the T-position constitute the comment (C) of the sentence.

Because of their stressing, we shall bring the F and V-constituents together into an FV-complex first. If the F-position is filled by an F-constituent, then the constituent receives primary stress and the verb after it is non-stressed. However, if the F-position is vacant, it is the verb that receives primary stress.

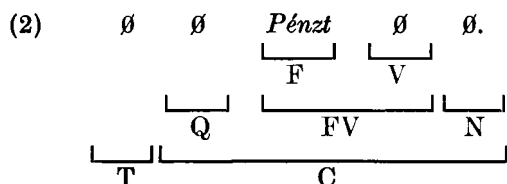
All these positions are shown in (1).



Meanings: 'John always helps Joe.'

'John always gives Joe money.'

Needless to say, the constituents carrying given information are normally ellipted, thus producing "elliptical sentences". For instance, in answer to the question *Mit ad János mindig Jósának?* ('What does John always give Joe?'), we can simply say:



There are also sentences which do not realize the construction shown in (1) and (2), e.g.

- (3) *Igen.* ('Yes.'), *Nem.* ('No.'), *Persze.* ('Of course.'), *Jaj!* ('Ouch!'),
Mi a fene! (approx.: 'What the hell!'), *Hé!* ('Hey!'), *Angela!* ('Angela.')

The utterances in (3) are not sentences from a strictly structural point of view. They are, however, sentences, if we define the sentence on a functional basis (cf. Deme 1976, 61). According to such a definition a sentence is a stretch of language that performs an independent illocutionary act (cf. Austin 1962).

1.2. The Essentials of Hungarian Intonation

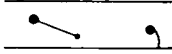
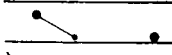
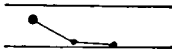
1.2.1. Tones and Stresses

Most of the intonational concepts and symbols used in this study are taken from my earlier work (Varga 1981; 1983). By intonation I mean the organic unity of pitch, intensity and pause features, superimposed upon syntactic units in particular combinations as tones, stresses and delimitation forms. Tones are related to pitch, stresses to intensity and pitch, and delimitation forms to pause and pitch. The functional unit of intonation is the tone-group. This ends in a tone-group boundary, symbolized as (|).

Tones realize patterns of pitch change on a string of syllables. A string of syllables consists of one or more than one syllable. Tones are kinetic if the pitch goes up or down, and level if the pitch does not change.

Stresses are degrees of syllabic prominence, which we shall define in terms of intensity and pitch change. Syllables with normal intensity are **non-stressed** (n-STR-ed), those which have extra intensity but do not initiate a kinetic tone are **secondary stressed** (s-STR-ed), and those which have extra intensity and initiate a kinetic tone are **primary stressed** (p-STR-ed). Primary stresses and kinetic tones are thus inter-related. The sentences in (4) below illustrate the different degrees of stress. While the first syllable is p-STR-ed and the second n-STR-ed in each example,

the third syllable in the examples takes p-, s-, and n-STR, respectively. The changes of pitch are shown graphically between two horizontal lines representing the normal high and low limits of the voice. Large dots are used to represent the syllables with extra intensity, and smaller dots to represent the n-STR-ed syllables.

- (4) a) *'Mentem* *`be.* |
 went + 1st in-
 sing wards
- 
- b) *`Mentem* *1 be.* |
- 
- c) *`Mentembe(n).* |
 going + my + in
- 

- a) 'I was going in.'
 b) 'Up to the present it has happened at least once that I went in.'
 c) 'On my way there.'

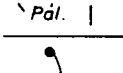
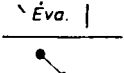
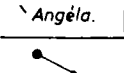
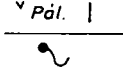
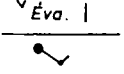
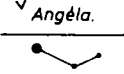
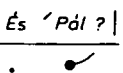
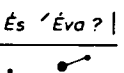
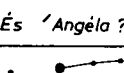
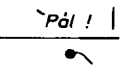
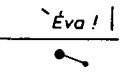
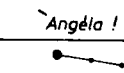
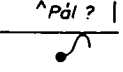
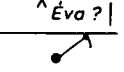

The transcription symbol of s-STR-ed syllables will be: $\text{,}x$, where x represents the written form of the syllable. N-STR-ed syllables will not be given transcription symbols. The transcription symbol of a p-STR-ed syllable will always depend on the particular kinetic tone which the syllable initiates. For instance, the p-STR symbols in *'mentem* and *`be* simultaneously represent the "half-falling" tone and the "falling" tone, respectively (see below).

There can be several p-STR-ed syllables in a Hungarian tone-group, and each initiates a separate kinetic tone. The strings of syllables carrying kinetic tones will be called "tonal strings". The first syllable of a tonal string must be p-STR-ed. When presenting the rules of intonation, tonal strings will be represented by the letter s , preceded by a p-STR symbol. When the letter s is used without a p-STR symbol before it, it stands for a string of syllables without a p-STR.

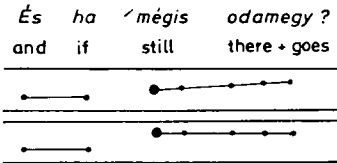
The last tonal string in a tone-group carries (or, in other words, the last p-STR-ed syllable in a tone-group initiates) a character-tone (CH-tone). The CH-tones can be: falling, falling-rising, rising, descending and rising-falling. Their transcription symbols, placed before the letter s , will be: 's , $\text{'\textasciitilde}s$, 's , 's , $\text{'\textasciitilde}s$.³ The CH-tones actually appear in

³ The CH-tones presented here have been established on the basis of their linguistic significance. On the notion of the linguistic significance of intonation see Kozma (1974, 483); Varga (1983, 119–21).

phonetic variations conditioned by the number of syllables on which they are spread out. Such variations are in complementary distribution, and will have no other symbols or names than the CH-tones of which they are variants. The phonetic content of the CH-tones is given ample coverage in the literature (cf. e.g. Deme 1962, 503—17; Fónagy—Magdics 1967, 40—100; Varga 1983, 123—25), so what follows here is not a verbal description but a graphic illustration of the one-syllable, two-syllable, and three-or-more-syllable variants of the CH-tones. The carrier phrases will be: *Pál* ('Paul'), *Éva* ('Eve') and *Angela* ('Angela'). The word *és* means 'and'.

(5) fall:			
fall-rise:			
rise:			
descent:			
rise-fall:			

The rising CH-tone can be phonetically realized as a mid-high level tone as well. Since this is merely a phonetic variant, it receives no special symbol.

(6)	
	És ha mégis odamegy ?
	and if still there + goes

'And if he goes there, nevertheless?'

Moreover, the rising CH-tone can be replaced by a descending one without causing a linguistically significant difference. (It may cause an attitudinal difference, though.)⁴

⁴ But the descending CH-tone cannot be replaced by a rising one. For instance, the evaluative exclamation *Milyen szép!* ('How nice!') cannot have a rising CH-tone: **Milyen szép!*

- (7) *És ha \mégis odamegy ? |*
-

'And if he goes there, nevertheless?'

In addition, the rising CH-tone (as well as its level tone variant and descending tone substitute) can be pushed up into a register which is higher than usual, so that a special high rising CH-tone comes into being. This phenomenon will be called tone boosting and symbolized by the raising sign (†) put before the p-STR symbol: †s.

- (8) †↑ *Ez is egy jó könyv, | az is egy jó könyv. |*
 this also a good book that also a good book
-

'This is a good book, and that's a good book too.'

If there are any p-STR-ed syllables before the CH-tone in a tone-group, each of them initiates a half-falling tone. This is a steep fall like the falling CH-tone, but it does not reach down to low level. Its symbol is: 's. It seems that before a rising-falling CH-tone, the half-fall can be phonetically realized as a descent, at least in the comment of the sentence, cf. (9b).

- (9) (a) ¹*Volt neki a ¹tévében egy \műsora. |*
 was + 3rd to him the TV + in a programme + his sing.
-

'He had a programme on the TV.'

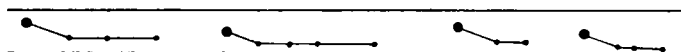
- (b) ¹*Volt neki a ¹tévében egy ^műsora ? |*
-

'Did he have a programme on the TV?'

The p-STR-ed syllables within the tone-group are subject to downdrift: each p-STR-ed syllable is slightly lower pitched than the previous one. However, it may happen that such a syllable is higher pitched than it ought to be if it were in alignment with the others. We shall call this syllable upstep, the phenomenon upstepping and symbolize it also by use of the raising sign (†), as in (10).

(10)

¹Elvitte a ¹gyerekeket a ↑¹Nemzeti \Múzeumba. |
 away + took the children + the national museum + to
 + def. + 3rd Acc.



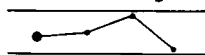
'He took the children to the National Museum.'

The possibility of having several, equally prominent, p-STR-ed syllables in the Hungarian tone-group is a major difference between the intonational units of Hungarian and other languages. In an English tone-group, for instance, there is typically only one p-STR-ed syllable, the one which is called "nucleus" (cf. e.g. O'Connor—Arnold 1961, 5—15) or "tonic" (Halliday 1967, 13—16).⁵

The tonal strings in a tone-group constitute the main part of the tone-group. This can be preceded by a preparatory part, which is a string of n-STR-ed and/or s-STR-ed syllables before the first p-STR-ed syllable within the tone-group. The preparatory part is represented in the intonational rules by the letter *s* without a p-STR symbol before it. The words *és ha* ('and if') in examples (6) and (7) are preparatory parts in their respective tone-groups. The main part of the tone-group can be followed by an appended part. This is a string of n-STR-ed and/or s-STR-ed syllables, carrying a low level tone, which can be called the "appended tone".⁶ The onset of the appended part is indicated by a special tone-symbol: (|), as in (11b):

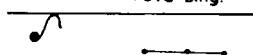
(11)

a) ^Nem kérdezte ? |
 not asked + def.
 + 3rd sing.



'Didn't he ask that?'

b) ^Nem ?" | - kérdezte. |
 no asked + def.
 + 3rd sing.



'No? — he asked.'

⁵ It follows from this difference (and from the definition of p-STR as being always associated with a kinetic tone) that the metrical theory of stress cannot be applied to Hungarian. This theory does not allow for both constituents of a binary structure to have the same value for prominence: one of them *must* be stronger than the other (cf. van der Hulst—Smith 1982, 31). In Hungarian, both constituents of a binary structure can have the same prominence (i.e. stress degree). In 'Van *só*nk!' ('We have salt!'), for instance, both words are p-STR-ed since both carry a separate kinetic tone.

⁶ Since the appended tone is low level, the possibility of an appended tone remaining attached to a falling CH-tone is not recognized in this study. The low level tone will be automatically incorporated into the tail of the falling CH-tone.

Putting the optional sub-units of the Hungarian tone-group in parentheses, the invariant structure of Hungarian tone-groups is: (Preparatory part) Main part (Appended part).

1.2.2. Delimitation forms

The intonational delimitation forms are combinations of pause-related and pitch-related boundary signals.

The pausal boundary signals are the pause and the non-pause. Although pauses can be made both between and within utterances, here we are only concerned with pauses within the utterance. A *pause* is a perceived break between neighbouring sounds. A *non-pause* on the other hand is the unbroken transition between neighbouring sounds, in which the phonetic qualities of the sounds overlap and run together, i.e. similitude or assimilation takes place between them. The "perceived break" in the pause is not necessarily real silence, it can be created by other means as well, such as special allophonic variation of the neighbouring sounds, glottal stop, etc. (cf. Szende 1976, 121–22). Pauses will be symbolized as: (□).

The pitch-related boundary signals are the *tone-group boundary*, the *onset of the appended part*, the *upstep*, and also the *lack of these*.

The pause and non-pause combine with any of the pitch-related boundary signals freely. It is wrong to think that the tone-group boundary is automatically marked by pause. In (12), for instance, there is no pause at the first tone-group boundary and /n/ is realized as [ŋ] under the influence of /v/:

- (12) †Én, | *vagy* \ *Mari*? | Phonetically: [†'e:ŋ | vaɟ \ 'mari |]
 I or Mary
 'Me, or Mary?'

At the same time, pauses often occur inside tone-groups:

- (13) †*Azt* *mondja*, □ †*tudja*. |
 that, says+def. knows+def.
 demonstr.
 + Acc.
 'He says he knows it.'

1.2.3. Rules of Intonation

For the presentation of the rules of intonation we shall need some other symbols as well. The solid horizontal arrow (→) introduces the result of obligatory change and is to be read as "obligatorily becomes". The broken hori-

zontal arrow (\dashrightarrow) indicates an optional change, meaning "optionally becomes". Index-numbers will also be used occasionally. The lower index means that the given symbol (or group of symbols in square brackets) to which the index is attached occurs at least as many times along the syntagmatic axis as is shown by the index-number. The upper index means that the given symbol (or group of symbols) occurs exactly as many times as is shown by the index-number. If both upper and lower index-numbers are provided, the symbol (or group of symbols) occurs minimally as many times as is shown by the lower number and maximally as many times as is shown by the upper number. (On these conventions see Schane 1973, 72). For example: s_0^1 is to be read as 'zero or one syllable string, with no p-STR'; $[s]_0^1$ as 'zero or more tonal (i.e. p-STR-ed) strings, each carrying a half-falling tone'; and $[s]^1$ as 'exactly one tonal string, carrying a rising CH-tone'.

The structure of Hungarian tone-groups, then, can be represented in the following way:

$$(14) \quad \underbrace{s_0^1}_{\text{Pre-}} \quad \underbrace{[s]_0^1 [s]^1}_{\text{Main}} \quad \underbrace{[s]_0^1}_{\text{Appended}} |$$

paratory part part
part

where κ = the symbol of any CH-tone.

When κ happens to be a falling CH-tone, the Appended part is automatically abolished by its low level tone being incorporated into the tail of the fall.

In this paper we shall examine tone-groups without appended parts.

1.3. Intonational Blocks

1.3.1. Autonomous Blocks

The intonational blocks (i.e. those parts of the utterance which are delimited from each other by some form of intonational delimitation) are either autonomous blocks or constituent blocks.

The identification of intonational blocks starts at the level of the utterance and proceeds to lower-ranking units. Each utterance consists of at least one autonomous block.

Autonomous blocks are those immediate constituents of an utterance which are neither coordinated nor subordinated to each other in the surface structure, and carry out independent illocutionary acts. From a functional point of view, autonomous blocks are separate sentences (cf. 1.1.), which are united in an utterance but could also be separate utterances. They have an independent illocutionary force: by realizing an autonomous block the speaker performs a speech act.


- (f) \wedge Te vagy az, | \Angéla? |
 you are that,
 sing. demonstr.
 'Is that you, Angela?'

- (g) \Igen, | \játszottam. |
 yes played + 1st sing.
 'Yes, I was playing.'

Autonomous blocks are p-STR-ed, and are in separate tone-groups. Their CH-tone does not depend on the CH-tone of any other autonomous block in the utterance: they are determined by the illocutionary act the block performs. At a normal tempo of speech autonomous blocks can be separated from each other by pauses. However, if the pauses are too long, the autonomous blocks may sound as separate utterances.

The upper limit of each tone-group in an utterance tends to be lower than that of the previous tone-group in the same utterance.⁷ This gradual loss of pitch height can be observed between the tone-groups of autonomous blocks as well. Thus, the final vocative in (16f) starts its falling tone from a lower pitch than its initial counterpart in (16e), although both are in separate tone-groups. Consequently, the utterance, as defined in this paper (see the Introduction), is not only a syntactic unit, but also a phonological one, and as such, it is higher in rank than the tone-group.⁸

Autonomous blocks consist of constituent blocks, and constituent blocks of lower-ranking constituent blocks. The lowest-ranking constituent blocks are words. When we have reached these, the division of the utterance into intonational blocks is complete. At this stage the tone-groups that have falling CH-tones and stand side by side in an utterance, can be fused together into one tone-group, e.g.:

- (17) \wedge Igen. | \játszottam. | \rightarrow \wedge Igen. \játszottam. |

 'Yes, I was playing.'

⁷ This phenomenon occurs between tone-groups and is to be distinguished from the similar phenomenon of downdrift inside the tone-group (cf. 1.2.1.).

⁸ Lyons (1968, 180) regards the utterance (i.e. the highest-ranking spoken sentence) as a unit of both syntax and phonology.

1.3.2. Constituent Blocks

Constituent blocks are expressions that are not autonomous blocks (i.e. they have no independent illocutionary force), but they are the immediate constituents of either an autonomous block or a higher-ranking constituent block. The higher-ranking block which is composed of the constituent blocks (whether it is an autonomous block or a constituent block) is the matrix block of the constituent blocks.

Some constituent blocks are "foreign bodies" within the structure of their matrix blocks, and are not organic parts of the matrix blocks semantically either. These will be called *inorganic constituent blocks*, to distinguish them from the organic ones. The difference between organic and inorganic constituent blocks is well demonstrated by (18) below. In (18a) the sections on both sides of the comma are organic constituent blocks. In (18b) the block on the left of the comma is organic, but the one on the right of the comma is inorganic:

- (18) (a) *'Hatkor indultam, hogy pontos legyek.'* |
 six+at started+ that, punctual to be +
 1st sing. conj. 1st sing.
 └──────────┘ └──────────┘
 organic organic
 'I started at six, so as to be punctual.'
- (b) *'Hatkor indultam, □ hogy pontos legyek.'* |
 └──────────┘ └──────────┘
 organic inorganic
 'I started at six, to be precise.'

The main types of inorganic blocks are as follows: (a) vocatives (with no p-STR; p-STR-ed versions are autonomous blocks, e.g. *kedvesem* 'darling', *őregem* 'old man', *doktor úr* 'doctor'); (b) expletive verb phrases directed at the hearer (e.g. *kérem* 'please' in imperatives, untranslatable in declaratives, literally: 'I ask you'; *csókolom* literally: 'I kiss you'; *egyelek meg* literally: 'let me eat you', said only to small children; *tudod* 'you know', *látod* 'you see'); (c) quoting clauses (after or inside a direct quotation, e.g. *kérdeztem* 'I asked', *mondta Éva* 'said Eve'); (d) sentence-form qualifiers (adverbial expressions conveying the speaker's comment on the form or purpose of what he is saying, or on the conditions under which he is speaking; e.g. *őszintén szólva* 'frankly speaking', *enyhén szólva* 'mildly speaking', *az igazat megvallva* 'telling you the truth', *jobban mondva* 'putting it better', *röviden* 'briefly', *hogy finom legyek* 'to be polite', *hogy őszinte legyek* 'to be frank', *hogy rövid legyek* 'to be brief', *hogy el ne felejtsem* 'don't let me forget', *ha őszinte lehetek* 'if I may be frank', *ha szabad ilyet kérnem* 'if I may ask for such a thing',

ha szabad így fogalmaznom 'if I may put it this way', *ha jól emlékszem* 'if I remember right', *akarom mondani* 'I mean').

In this paper we cannot examine the intonation of inorganic blocks and have to be content with the following tentative remarks: (a) most of them can be marked off by pauses, (b) normally they have no p-STR, (c) usually they form part of the preceding kinetic tone. However, some of them form appended parts. These are: sentence-final quoting clauses when they follow a kinetic tone other than falling or half-falling, cf. (11b) and (19a); and — if the preceding kinetic tone is a rising-falling CH-tone — vocatives (19b), expletive verb phrases directed at the hearer (19c), and sentence-form qualifiers when they are adverbial clauses of purpose (19d).

- (19) (a) "És ha elmegyek?" | — *kérdezte* *Jóska.* |
 and if away+go+ asked+def. Joe
 1st sing. +3rd sing.
 '“And if I leave?” — asked Joe.'

- (b) ^Készen vagy, | *Angéla?* |
 ready are+ Angela
 2nd sing.
 'Are youd ready, Angela?'

- (c) ^Van kávéfőzője, | *csókolom?* |
 is percolator kiss+def.+
 +your 1st sing.
 'Have you got a percolator, madam?'
 (Literally: 'Have you got a percolator, I kiss you?')

- (d) ^Péter is ott lesz?, | *hogy a tárgyra térjünk.* |
 Peter also there will+be+ that the topic+to to turn+
 3rd sing. conj. 1st plur.
 'Will Peter be there too?, to come to the point.'

With these remarks we are leaving the subject of inorganic constituent blocks. From now on we shall deal with organic constituent blocks only.

The tone initiated by the rightmost p-STR-ed syllable in a matrix block is the dominant tone in that matrix block. The organic constituent block initiating the dominant tone within the matrix block functions as the dominant block, while the organic constituent blocks before it function as dependent blocks. The dominant tone is called such because it constrains the tones that the last p-STR-ed syllable in each dependent block can initiate. The tones so constrained are dependent tones.

On the basis of two possible kinds of relationship between the organic constituent blocks of a matrix block, organic constituent blocks can be clas-

of these, we proceed accordingly (cf. 2.2.4.). If it does not, we divide it into CB's at points which are syntactically determined (cf. 2.2.2.). The particular form of the intonational delimitation of neighbouring CB's depends on several factors. The most important factors are the following: (a) are the CB's pragmatically or syntactically motivated, (b) when the CB's are syntactically motivated, what is the syntactic type (and pragmatic label, if there is one) of the non-final CB, (c) what were the previous intonational choices like (what are the stressing and the dominant tone of the matrix block like), (d) what special rules of delimitation might be necessary in case of ambiguity.

If the dominant tone is a falling or falling-rising CH-tone, the dependent tones before it are constrained in the same way. Therefore the falling and the falling-rising dominant tones will be grouped together as *Type α tones*. (This does not mean that the falling and the falling-rising CH-tones are interchangeable.) For similar reasons, all other dominant tones (i.e. rising, descending, rising-falling and half-falling) will also be grouped together and will be called *Type β tones*. This is because the same set of dependent tones can be used before any β tone. Finally, if we do not wish to specify a dominant tone, its symbol will be: ω . (This means that any dominant tone is possible on the given string of syllables.)

$$(21) \text{ (a) } \left[\begin{array}{l} [\backslash s]^1 | \\ [\sim s]^1 | \end{array} \right] = [\alpha s]^1 \quad \text{ (b) } \left[\begin{array}{l} [\prime s]^1 | \\ [\sim s]^1 | \\ [\wedge s]^1 | \\ [!s]^1 \end{array} \right] = [\beta s]^1 \quad \text{ (c) } \left[\begin{array}{l} [\alpha s]^1 \\ [\beta s]^1 \end{array} \right] = [\omega s]^1$$

If a CB has no p-STR in it, it has no kinetic tone either.

2.2. Dependent Tones in Case of Type α Dominant Tones

2.2.1. Syntactically Motivated Complementary Blocks

We shall now examine what dependent tone (or tones) will be taken by syntactically motivated CB's when the dominant tone is an α -tone, i.e. falling or falling-rising. We shall first restrict our attention to cases where both the non-final and the final blocks are p-STR-ed and thus the dominant tone is within the final block.

In Hungarian, syntactically motivated CB's are formed in the following ways:

(i) The sentence or clause is split up into zero or more nonverb sentence constituents in T-position (T-constituents), followed by zero or more independent subclauses in T-position (T-clauses), followed by zero or more nonverb sentence constituents in T-position again, followed by exactly one comment (C):

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Sentence} \\ \text{Clause} \end{array} \right\} = [\text{T-constituent}]_0 [\text{T-clause}]_0 [\text{T-constituent}]_0 [\text{C}]^1$$

(ii) The comment contains either (a) the main clause section of the comment (C-main clause), one or more independent subclauses in N-position (N-clauses) and zero or more nonverb sentence constituents in N-position (N-constituents); or (b) it contains only the main clause section of the comment:

$$C = \begin{cases} [\text{C-main clause}]^1 [\text{N-clause}]_1 [\text{N-constituent}]_0 \\ [\text{C-main clause}]^1 \end{cases}$$

(iii) The main clause section of the comment consists of zero or more nonverb sentence constituents in Q-position (Q-constituents), exactly one FV-complex, and zero or more nonverb constituents in N-position:

$$\text{C-main clause} = [\text{Q-constituent}]_0 [\text{FV}]^1 [\text{N-constituent}]_0$$

(iv) The FV-complex splits up into one or nil nonverb sentence constituent in F-position (F-constituent) and exactly one verb (V):

$$\text{FV} = [\text{F-constituent}]_0^1 [\text{V}]^1$$

(v) Nonverb sentence constituents either consist of exactly one head and one dependent clause (D-clause), or they consist of one or more subconstituents:

$$\text{Nonverb sentence constituent} = \begin{cases} [\text{Head}]^1 [\text{D-clause}]^1 \\ [\text{Subconstituent}]_1 \end{cases}$$

(vi) The head consists of one or more subconstituents:

$$\text{Head} = [\text{Subconstituent}]_1$$

(vii) Subconstituents also consist of one or more lower-ranking subconstituents. The lowest-ranking subconstituents are words:

$$\text{Subconstituent} = [\text{Subconstituent}]_1$$

(viii) Coordinated constructions consist of two or more units of coordination (Co-units):

$$\text{Coordinated construction} = [\text{Co-unit}]_2$$

There are a few comments to be made in connection with this list. First: coordination here does not include the type "x (is), nem(csak) y" (i.e. 'x (too), not (just) y'), e.g. *Péter is, nemcsak Jóska* ('Peter too, not just Joe'). This type of coordination yields EB's and will be separately dealt with in 3.2.

Secondly: the term "subclause" is used here in the sense of either non-relative or restrictive relative subordinate clause. Non-restrictive relative

clauses, e.g. *aki hentes* ('who is a butcher') in *Vilmos, aki hentes* ('William, who is a butcher') are EB's and will be dealt with in 3.2.

Thirdly: cases where the subconstituent of a nonverb sentence constituent is a non-restrictive appositive, e.g. *a rendőr* ('the policeman') in *Artúr, a rendőr* ('Arthur, the policeman') are also excluded and will be discussed among EB's in 3.2.

Fourthly: the term "dependent subclause" here refers to a subordinate clause (other than non-restrictive relative) which immediately follows a head and forms a nonverb sentence constituent with it, cf. (22) and (23).

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>(22) <i>az, hogy elkésett</i>
 that, that, was late
 demonstr. conj. +3rd sing.
 <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around; margin-top: 10px;"> <div style="text-align: center;"> <div style="border-top: 1px solid black; width: 100px; margin: 0 auto;"></div> <p>Head</p> </div> <div style="text-align: center;"> <div style="border-top: 1px solid black; width: 150px; margin: 0 auto;"></div> <p>Subclause</p> </div> </div> <div style="text-align: center; margin-top: 10px;"> <div style="border-top: 1px solid black; width: 300px; margin: 0 auto;"></div> <p>Nonverb sentence constituent
'the fact that he was late'</p> </div> </p> | <p>(23) <i>mindenki, aki dolgozik</i>
 everybody who, works
 <div style="text-align: center; margin-top: 10px;"> <div style="border-top: 1px solid black; width: 100px; margin: 0 auto;"></div> <p>Head</p> </div> <div style="text-align: center; margin-top: 10px;"> <div style="border-top: 1px solid black; width: 150px; margin: 0 auto;"></div> <p>Subclause</p> </div> <div style="text-align: center; margin-top: 10px;"> <div style="border-top: 1px solid black; width: 300px; margin: 0 auto;"></div> <p>Nonverb sentence constituent
'everybody who works'</p> </div> </p> |
|--|--|

Any other subclause is "independent". This can mean four things: the subclause (a) has no head at all (24a), (b) has a head at some distance away before it (24b), (c) has its head immediately after it (24c), has its head at some distance away after it (24d). The head in the examples is *az* ('that, demonstr.').

- (24) (a) *Bosszantotta, hogy elkésett.*
 annoyed+def.+ that, was late+
 3rd sing. conj. 3rd sing.

Subclause

'It annoyed him that he was late.'

The independent subclause forms a discontinuous phrase with the head in (24b) and (24d), and it forms no part of a phrase in (24a).

2.2.2. Dependent Tones in Syntactically Motivated Complementary Blocks: Pragmatically Unmarked

We can distinguish ten types of syntactically motivated non-final CB's. Some of these can also take special pragmatic labels (cf. 2.2.3.), but we shall first consider the pragmatically unmarked cases. We are interested in the dependent tones that are possible before a dominant tone of Type α .

In the examples below the α -tones will be represented by the falling CH-tone. Pauses and upsteps will not be indicated. It should be remembered that the rising CH-tone of a non-final block can always be replaced by a descending one and can be phonetically realized also as a mid-high level tone.

Non-final blocks will be abbreviated as *n*, final blocks as *f*.

Type 1: n = non-final unit of interrogative disjunctive coordination. It has a rising tone, which can be boosted into a high rise.

- (25) $\begin{array}{l} \text{'Szombat } (\uparrow)\text{'délután, |} \\ \text{Saturday } \text{afternoon} \\ (\uparrow)\text{'Szombaton, |} \\ \text{Saturday + on} \end{array} \left. \begin{array}{l} \\ \\ \\ \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} \text{vagy } \text{'vasárnap? |} \\ \text{or } \text{Sunday} \end{array}$
 Meanings: 'On Saturday afternoon, or on Sunday?'
 'On Saturday or Sunday?'

Type 2: n = non-final unit of "ordinary coordination", i.e. coordination other than Type 1 or EB Types 1 and 2 (cf. 3.2.2.). Ordinary coordination includes copulative, adversative, non-interrogative disjunctive, illative and explanatory coordination.

It has a rising or a half-falling tone.

The examples in (26) show copulative coordination.

- (26) (a) $\begin{array}{l} \text{'Kitakarították } a \text{'lakást, |} \\ \text{out + cleaned + the flat + Acc.} \\ \text{def. + 3rd plur.} \\ \text{'Kitakarították, |} \end{array} \left. \begin{array}{l} \\ \\ \\ \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} \text{és } \text{'elmentek. |} \\ \text{and } \text{away + went +} \\ \text{3rd plur.} \end{array}$
 (b) $\begin{array}{l} \text{'Kitakarították } a \text{'lakást, |} \\ \text{'Kitakarították,} \end{array} \left. \begin{array}{l} \\ \end{array} \right\} \text{és } \text{'elmentek. |}$
 Meanings: 'They cleaned the flat and left.'
 'They cleaned it and left.'

Type 3: n = independent subclause in T or N-position, before a main clause or main clause fragment.

It has a rising or half-falling tone.

The examples in (27) (i) show a T-clause, those in (27) (ii) an N-clause.

- (27) (i) (a)
$$\begin{array}{l} \text{Hogy} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{'elkésett} \quad \text{az} \quad \text{'iskolából, |} \\ \text{was late} \quad \text{the} \quad \text{school+} \\ \text{that,} \quad \text{+3rd sing.} \quad \text{from} \\ \text{conj.} \quad \text{'elkésett, |} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{(az)} \quad \text{'bosszantotta. |} \\ \text{that,} \quad \text{annoyed+def.+} \\ \text{demonstr.} \quad \text{3rd sing.} \end{array} \right.$$

- (b)
$$\text{Hogy} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{'elkésett az 'iskolából,} \\ \text{'elkésett,} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{(az)} \quad \text{'bosszantotta. |} \end{array} \right.$$

- (ii) (a)
$$\begin{array}{l} \text{'Elvittem} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{amit} \quad \text{'tegnap} \quad \text{'vettem |} \\ \text{away+took} \quad \text{what,} \quad \text{yesterday} \quad \text{bought+} \\ \text{+def.+} \quad \text{relat.} \quad \text{1st sing.} \\ \text{1st sing.} \quad \text{+Acc.} \quad \text{amit} \quad \text{'vettem |} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{'Debrecenbe. |} \\ \text{Debrecen+to} \end{array} \right.$$

- (b)
$$\text{'Elvittem} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{amit} \quad \text{'tegnap} \quad \text{'vettem} \\ \text{amit} \quad \text{'vettem} \end{array} \right\} \text{'Debrecenbe. |}$$

Meanings: (i) 'The fact that he was late for school annoyed him.'

'The fact that he was late annoyed him.'

(ii) 'I took what I bought yesterday to Debrecen.'

'I took what I'd bought to Debrecen.'

Type 4: n = head, before a dependent subclause, within a nonverb sentence constituent.

It has a rising or a half-falling tone.

- (28) (a)
$$\begin{array}{l} \text{'Megvették} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{'azt} \quad \text{a} \quad \text{'könyvet, |} \\ \text{perf.+} \quad \text{that,} \quad \text{the} \quad \text{book+Acc.} \\ \text{bought+} \quad \text{demonstr.} \\ \text{def.+3rd} \quad \text{+Acc.} \\ \text{plur.} \quad \text{'azt, |} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{amit} \quad \text{'kértél. |} \\ \text{which,} \quad \text{asked for} \\ \text{relat.+} \quad \text{+2nd sing.} \\ \text{Acc.} \end{array} \right.$$

- (b)
$$\text{'Megvették} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{'azt a 'könyvet,} \\ \text{'azt,} \end{array} \right\} \text{amit 'kértél. |}$$

Meanings: 'They bought the book that you'd asked for.'

'They bought that which you'd asked for.'

Type 5: n = FV-complex, before an N-constituent.

It has a half-falling tone.

In (29) the F-position within the FV-complex is vacant.

- (29) $\left. \begin{array}{l} 'Tettek-^1vettek \\ \text{pottered about} \\ +3\text{rd plur.} \\ 'Ették \\ \text{ate} + 3\text{rd plur.} \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} a \\ \text{the} \end{array} \begin{array}{l} \backslash \text{konyhában.} \\ \text{kitchen} + \text{in} \end{array}$
- Meanings: 'They were pottering about in the kitchen.'
'They were eating in the kitchen.'

Type 6: n = T-constituent.

If it contains one p-STR, it has a half-falling tone; if more than one, it can have a rising or a half-falling tone.

- (30) (i) (a) Egy $\begin{array}{l} 'ismerősöm \\ \text{an acquaintance} \\ + \text{my} \end{array} \begin{array}{l} ^\circ felesége \\ \text{wife} + \text{his} \end{array} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \backslash \text{levelet írt.} \\ \text{letter} + \text{wrote} \\ \text{Acc.} + 3\text{rd sing.} \end{array} \right.$

- (b) Egy $\begin{array}{l} 'ismerősöm \\ \text{Egy } 'ismerősöm \end{array} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} ^\circ felesége \\ \backslash \text{levelet írt.} \end{array} \right.$

- (ii) (a) $\begin{array}{l} 'Az, \\ \text{that,} \\ \text{demonstr. conj.} \end{array} \begin{array}{l} \text{hogy} \\ \text{that,} \\ \text{3rd sing.} \end{array} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} ^\circ elkésett, \\ \text{was late} + \\ \text{3rd sing.} \end{array} \right. \begin{array}{l} \backslash \text{bosszantotta.} \\ \text{annoyed} + \text{def.} \\ + 3\text{rd sing.} \end{array}$

- (b) $\begin{array}{l} 'Az, \text{ hogy} \\ \text{Meanings: (i) 'The wife of an acquaintance of mine wrote a letter.'} \\ \text{'An acquaintance of mine wrote a letter.'} \\ \text{(ii) 'The fact that he was late annoyed him.'} \end{array} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} ^\circ elkésett, \\ \backslash \text{bosszantotta.} \end{array} \right.$

Type 7: n = Q-constituent.

If it contains one p-STR, it has a half-falling tone; if more than one, it can have a rising or a half-falling tone.

- (31) (i) (a) Minden $\begin{array}{l} ^\circ barátjukat \\ \text{all} \\ + \text{Acc.} \end{array} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \backslash \text{meghívták.} \\ \text{perf.} + \text{invited} + \\ \text{def.} + 3\text{rd plur.} \end{array} \right.$

- (b) Minden $\begin{array}{l} ^\circ barátjukat \\ 'Mindegyiket \\ \text{each of them} + \text{Acc.} \end{array} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \backslash \text{meghívták.} \end{array} \right.$

- (ii) (a) Mindenkit, $\begin{array}{l} aki \\ \text{everybody} + \\ \text{Acc.} \end{array} \begin{array}{l} ^\circ telefonált, \\ \text{who,} \\ \text{relat.} \end{array} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \backslash \text{meghívtunk.} \\ \text{telephoned} + \\ \text{3rd sing.} \end{array} \right. \begin{array}{l} \text{perf.} + \text{invited} \\ + 1\text{st plur.} \end{array}$

- (b) 'Mindenkit, aki 'telefonált, \meghívtunk. |
 Meanings: (i) 'They invited all their friends.'
 'They invited all of them.'
 (ii) 'We invited everybody who telephoned.'

Type 8: n = N-constituent, before another N-constituent.

If it contains one p-STR, it has a half-falling tone; if more than one, it can have a rising or a half-falling tone.

- (32) (i) (a) 'Elvittem a 'szomszéd 'gyerekeit | a \múzeumba. |
 away + took the neighbour children + the museum + to
 + def. + 1st his + Acc.
 sing.

- (b) 'Elvittem $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} a 'szomszéd 'gyerekeit \\ a 'gyerekeket \\ \text{the children} + \text{Acc.} \end{array} \right\}$ a \múzeumba. |

- (ii) (a) 'Elvittem 'azt, amit 'vettem, | \Debrecenbe. |
 that, which, bought + Debrecen + to
 demonstr. relat. 1st sing.
 + Acc. + Acc.

- (b) 'Elvittem 'azt, amit 'vettem, \Debrecenbe. |
 Meanings: (i) 'I took the neighbour's children to the museum.'
 'I took the children to the museum.'
 (ii) 'I took that which I'd bought to Debrecen.'

Type 9: n = main clause section of the comment, before an independent subclause in N-position. It lasts from the beginning of the comment to the beginning of the subclause.

If it contains one p-STR, it has a half-falling tone; if more than one, it can have a rising or a half-falling tone.

- (33) (a) 'Azt mondták a 'barátjuknak, | hogy \meglátogatják. |
 that, said + def. the friend + their that, perf. + visit + def. +
 demonstr. + 3rd plur. + to conj. 3rd plur.
 + Acc.

- (b) 'Azt mondták a 'barátjuknak, hogy \meglátogatják.
 'Azt mondták,

Meanings: 'They told their friend that they would visit him.'
 'They said that they would visit him.'

Type 10: n = subconstituent before another subconstituent (if they are other than EB Types 5 or 6, cf. 3.2.4.).

If it contains one p-STR, it has a half-falling tone; if more than one, it can have a rising or a half-falling tone.

(34) (a) *A* 'második 'találkozó | \helye. |
the second meeting place + its

(b) *A* 'második 'találkozó } \helye. |
 A 'találkozó }

Meanings: 'The place of the second meeting.'
'The place of the meeting.'

2.2.3. Dependent Tones in Syntactically Motivated Complementary Blocks: Pragmatically Marked

When the syntactically motivated non-final block is pragmatically marked, and the final block contains a dominant tone of Type α , the non-final block will have some new tonal possibilities in addition to those described in 2.2.2.

(A) If the non-final block carries old information and the final block new information, or if both the non-final block and the final block are paralleled or contrasted with their respective counterparts in the context, the non-final block receives the pragmatic label "A". This label can go to non-final blocks of Type 5 (FV-complex before an N-constituent), Type 6 (T-constituent), Type 9 (the main clause section of the comment before an independent sub-clause) and Type 10 (subconstituent before another subconstituent).

The non-final blocks that are labelled "A" can have a rising tone even when they contain only one p-STR. They may have undergone stress reduction before (i.e. their p-STR-es may have become s-STR-es), but this may have been counteracted by the tendency to have p-STR at the beginning of a tone-group, for rhythmic reasons (cf. Deme 1962, 468). The examples below show only p-STR-ed variants, and only the new tonal possibilities.

Type 5A:

(35) (a) (Nemcsak anatómiából nem vizsgázott.)
(It is not only in anatomy that he did not take an exam.)
'Nem vizsgázott | \élettanból sem. |
not took an exam physiology neither
+3rd sing. +from
'He didn't take an exam in physiology either.'

(b) (Mari Berlinbe ment.)

('Mary went to Berlin.')

És 'hova ment | a 'Jóska? |

and where, went+ the Joe

inter- 3rd sing.

rog.

'And where did Joe go?'

Type 6A:

(36) (a) (János bácsi mit csinál?)

('What is Uncle John doing?')

'János bácsi | 'füttyöl. |

John uncle whistles

'Uncle John is whistling.'

(b) (És Kati néni?)

('And Aunt Kate?')

'Kati néni | 'táncol. |

Kate aunt dances

'Aunt Kate (on the other hand) is dancing.'

Type 9A:

(37) (a) (Miért feküdt le?)

('Why did he go to bed?')

'Azért feküdt le, | mert 'fáradt volt. |

that, lay+ down because tired was+

demonstr. 3rd

3rd

+for sing.

sing.

'He went to bed because he was tired.'

(b) (Én azt hittem, hogy hétfőn jönnek, Mari meg...)

('I thought they would come on Monday, but Mary...')

'azt hitte, | hogy 'kedden (jönnek). |

that believed that, Tuesday+ come+

demonstr. +def.+ conj. on 3rd plur.

+Acc. 3rd sing.

...thought that they would come on Tuesday.'

Type 10A:

(38) (a) (Kiváló micsoda?)

('An excellent what?')

'Kiváló | 'zongorista. |

excellent pianist

'An excellent pianist.'

- (b) (Lehet, hogy rossz organista, de . . .)
 ('He may be a poor organist, but he is . . .)
 'kiváló | \zongorista. |
 . . .an excellent pianist.'

(B) If there is a concessive-adversative relationship between the non-final and the final block, the non-final block receives the pragmatic label "B".

This label can go to non-final blocks of Type 2 (non-final unit of adversative coordination), Type 3 (subclause before main clause) and Type 9 (comment fragment before a subclause).

"B"-labelled non-final blocks can have a falling-rising tone when they contain one p-STR.

Type 2B:

- (39) ~Odamentem, | de 'zárvá volt az \ajtó. |
 there+went but closed was+ the door
 +1st sing. 3rd
 sing.

'I went there, but the door was locked.'

Type 3B:

- (40) Bár ~altatót vett be, | \nem aludt. |
 though sleeping pill took+ in not slept+
 +Acc. 3rd sing. 3rd sing.
 'Although he took a sleeping pill, he couldn't sleep.'

Type 9B:

- (41) ~Nem aludt, | bár \altatót vett be. |
 not slept+ though sleeping took+ in
 3rd sing. pill+Acc. 3rd sing.
 'He couldn't sleep, though he took a sleeping pill.'

(C) If the non-final block is in parallel or contrast with the final block, the non-final block receives the pragmatic label "C".

This label can be given to non-final blocks of Type 2 (non-final unit of copulative or adversative coordination) and Type 3 (subclause before main clause).

In such blocks the rising tone is more frequent than the half-falling tone and it can be boosted into a high rise.

Type 2C:

- (42) (a) 'Kati néni (t)'táncol, | 'János bácsi \füttyöl. |
 Kate aunt dances John uncle whistles
 'Aunt Kate is dancing, Uncle John is whistling.'

- (b) *'Elment a (t)'Péter, | 'itt maradt a 'Pál. |*
 away + went the Peter here remained the Paul
 + 3rd sing. + 3rd sing.

Approx.: 'Away went Peter, (but) Paul is (still) here.'

- (c) *'Háromszáz (t)'negyven, | 'ötszáz'ötven. |*
 three hundred forty five hundred fifty
 'Three hundred and forty, five hundred and fifty.' (telephone number)

- (d) *(t)'Ez is jó könyv, | 'az is jó könyv. |*
 this also good book that also good book
 'This is a good book, and that's a good book too.'

Type 3C:

- (43) (a) *Ha az 'egyik (t)'hosszabb, | a 'másik 'rövidebb. |*
 if the one longer the other shorter
 'If one is longer, the other is shorter.'

- (b) *Amíg te (t)'aludtál, | a 'mosógép 'dolgozott. |*
 while you, slept + the washing- worked +
 sing. 2nd sing. machine 3rd sing.
 'While you were sleeping, the washing-machine was working.'

2.2.4. Dependent Tones in Pragmatically Motivated Complementary Blocks

Pragmatically motivated CB's do not correspond to syntactically motivated CB's, although they may occasionally coincide with the latter.

All types of pragmatically motivated non-final blocks have either a rising or a half-falling tone and can have their p-STR-es reduced to s-STR. The examples below will show only p-STR-ed versions.

Type 11: *n* occurs in a "rejection sentence" and lasts from the beginning of the sentence to the last p-STR-ed N-constituent.

In a rejection sentence the speaker first recapitulates the FV-complex which has already occurred and then adds a rude expression to it in the last slot of the N-position. This expression takes on a special place-value here: it turns the sentence into an emphatic rejection of a previous statement or proposal (cf. Elekfi 1964, 347).

- (44) (a) *'Ír nekik 'levelet | az } 'ördög! |*
 writes to them letter + Acc. the } devil
'Ír nekik |

- (b) $\left. \begin{array}{l} 'f_r \text{ nekik } 'levelet \\ 'f_r \text{ nekik} \end{array} \right\} \text{ az } \backslash \text{ördög!} |$

Meanings: 'The devil will write them a letter!'
'The devil will write them!'

Type 12: *n* occurs in what we can call an "announcement sentence" and lasts from the beginning of the sentence to the last p-STR-ed N-constituent.

An announcement sentence announces what is to be known about a production or performance (names of persons involved, place and time, etc.) in such a way that the most important piece of information falls at the end of the sentence.

- (45) (a) $\left. \begin{array}{l} A \text{ 'mú sorban } \text{'közreműködött} | \\ \text{the programme participated +} \\ + \text{in 3rd sing.} \\ \text{'Közreműködött} | \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} 'Konc z \text{ } \backslash \text{Zsuzsa.} | \\ \text{Konc z } \text{ Sue} \end{array}$

- (b) $A \text{ 'mú sorban } \text{'közreműködött} \left. \begin{array}{l} \text{'Közreműködött} \\ \text{'Közreműködött} \end{array} \right\} 'Konc z \text{ } \backslash \text{Zsuzsa.} |$

Meanings: (approx.): 'Taking part in the programme was Sue Koncz.'
'Taking part was Sue Koncz.'

Type 13: *n* occurs in a "self-evident sentence" and lasts from the beginning of the sentence to the beginning of the last p-STR-ed word (no matter how deeply embedded that word is).

A self-evident sentence implies that the speaker considers the semantic content of the sentence obvious (easily guessable, natural or already negotiated, etc.) and thus he finds it surprising or irritating that the hearer has not worked it out for himself or has forgotten it (cf. Varga 1982, 167).

- (46) (Mi mást tehettem volna?)
(‘What else could I have done?’)

- (a) $\left. \begin{array}{l} 'Megvarrtam \text{ } a \text{ } \text{'gyerek} | \\ \text{perf. + sewed + the child} \\ \text{def. + 1st sing.} \\ \text{'Megvarrtam } a | \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} \backslash \text{kabátját.} | \\ \text{coat + his + Acc} \end{array}$

- (b) $'Megvarrtam \text{ } a \text{ } \text{'gyerek} \left. \begin{array}{l} \text{'Megvarrtam } a \\ \text{'Megvarrtam } a \end{array} \right\} \backslash \text{kabátját.} |$

Meanings: 'I mended the child's coat.'
'I mended his coat.'

- (47) (Nem emlékszel?)
(‘Don’t you remember?’)

(a) /Két üveg | \sört. |
two bottle beer + Acc.

(b) /Két üveg \sört. |
Meaning: ‘Two bottles of beer.’

2.2.5. Complementary Blocks without Primary Stress

In the examples given so far the CB’s examined contained p-STR-es. It often happens, however, that the non-final block or the final block or both the non-final and the final block lack a p-STR, cf. (48a), (48b) and (48c), respectively.

- (48) (a) /Marikát \nem láttam. |
Mary + Acc. not saw + def. + 1st sing.
‘Mary, I haven’t seen.’

(b) \Feladtam a /levelet. |
posted + def. the letter + Acc.
+ 1st sing.
‘I have posted the letter.’

(c) Már \mondtam, hogy /feladtam a /levelet. |
already said + def. that, posted + the letter + Acc.
+ 1st sing. conj. def. + 1st
sing.

‘I’ve already told you that I’ve posted the letter.’

CB’s with no p-STR have no kinetic tones of their own; they either form part of the kinetic tone that started before them, cf. (48b) and (48c) or — after a tone-group boundary — they keep level at mid-low pitch, cf. (48a).

If the final block contains no p-STR, the dominant tone will be in the last p-STR-ed non-final block (48b: \feladtam; 48c: már \mondtam).

2.3. Dependent Tones in Case of Type β Dominant Tones

The variability of dependent tones described in 2.2. diminishes when the dominant tone is one of the β -tones, i.e. rising, descending, rising-falling or half-falling.

In these cases the dependent tone in a p-STR-ed non-final block is invariably half-falling, cf. e.g. (49).

- (49) $\begin{array}{l} \text{És a } 'tanszéki \quad 'könyvtáros \} \text{ kisfia? | } \\ \text{and the departmental librarian} \quad \text{small son} \\ \text{És a } 'könyvtáros \} \\ \text{Meanings: 'And the departmental librarian's son?'} \\ \text{'And the librarian's son?'} \end{array}$

If the β -tone happens to be rising-falling, the half-falling dependent tones before it can be phonetically realized as gently descending tones, at least in comments and in elliptical sentences derived from comments, used as yes-or-no questions, as in (50).

- (50) $\begin{array}{l} A 'tanszéki 'könyvtáros \} \text{ kisfia? | } \\ A 'könyvtáros \} \\ \text{Meanings: 'The departmental librarian's son?'} \\ \text{'The librarian's son?'} \end{array}$

These gently descending tones are not to be confused with the descending CH-tone: they are merely the phonologically conditioned varieties of the half-falling tone (cf. 1.2.1.).

The half-falling dependent tone of a non-final block can be replaced by a rising one if the dominant tone is rising or half-falling and the non-final block is Type 2 (i.e. contains the non-final unit of an ordinary coordination), cf. (51b).

- (51) (a) $'Elvittem \ a \ 'gyerekeket \ és \ a \ 'nagymamát \ | \ a \ `moziba. \ |$
 away + took the children + and the grandma + the cinema + to
 + def. + 1st Acc. Acc.
 sing.

- (b) $'Elvittem \ a \ 'gyerekeket \ | \ és \ a \ 'nagymamát \ | \ a \ `moziba. \ |$
 Meaning: 'I took the children and grandma to the cinema.'

2.4. General Rules of the Intonational Delimitation of Complementary Blocks

2.4.1. Dependent Tone Rules

So far we have seen the various dependent tones that CB's can have. Now we are going to sum these up with the help of some informally presented rules.

Kinetic tones are always initiated by p-STR-ed syllables. We have to hypothesize that these syllables received not only their p-STR but also a half-falling tone in the stage of stress assignment, prior to the intonational segmentation of the utterance. This hypothesis can be justified on the following grounds: (a) Tonal conspicuousness is an essential feature of p-STR: a p-STR-ed syllable must initiate some kind of kinetic tone. (b) The half-falling tone is kinetic but not a CH-tone and so it can be regarded as basic (cf. Deme 1962, 509). We assume therefore that all dependent tones are originally half-falling tones, and that some of them in some cases will or can be changed into a CH-tone in the course of the intonational segmentation of the sentence. The tone rules will have to account only for those cases where the original half-falling tone undergoes an obligatory or optional change.

(i) If the dominant tone is of Type α and both the non-final block(s) and the final block contain p-STR-es, the half-falling tone in the non-final block(s) is (a) obligatorily replaced by a rising CH-tone in cases where the non-final block belongs to Type 1; (b) optionally replaced by a rising CH-tone in cases where the non-final block contains more than one p-STR and does not belong to Type 1 or Type 5; (c) optionally replaced by a rising CH-tone in cases where the non-final block contains only one p-STR and belongs to Types 2, 3, 4, 11, 12, 13 or is labelled "A"; (d) optionally replaced by a falling-rising CH-tone, if it contains only one p-STR and is labelled "B".

CB Rule No. 1.

$$\left. \begin{array}{ll} \text{(a)} \quad [{}_n X [{}^1 s] {}^1] & \rightarrow [{}_n X [\acute{s} {}^1 |] \\ \text{(b)} \quad [{}_n s_0^1 [{}^1 s] {}^1] & \rightarrow [{}_n s_0^1 [{}^1 s] {}^1 [\acute{s} {}^1 |] \\ \text{(c)} \quad [{}_n s_0^1 [{}^1 s] {}^1] & \rightarrow [{}_n s_0^1 [\acute{s} {}^1 |] \\ \text{(d)} \quad [{}_n s_0^1 [{}^1 s] {}^1] & \rightarrow [{}_n s_0^1 [\sim s] {}^1 |] \end{array} \right\} / \text{ — } [{}_n X [{}^1 s] {}^1]_0 [{}_r X [{}^2 s] {}^1]$$

where $X = s_0^1 [{}^1 s]_0$

Conditions: (a) if n is Type 1.

(b) if n is other than Type 1 or Type 5.

(c) if n is Type 2, 3, 4, 11, 12, 13, or it is labelled "A" (Types 5A, 6A, 9A, 10A).

(d) if n is labelled "B" (Types 2B, 3B, 9B).

(ii) If the dominant tone is rising or half-falling, the half-falling tone of the non-final block is optionally replaced by a rising CH-tone in cases where the non-final block belongs to Type 2, cf. (51b).

CB Rule No. 2.

$$[_nX[{}^1s]{}^1] \rightarrow [_nX[{}^1s]{}^1 |] / \text{---} [_nX[{}^1s]{}^1]_0 [_rX \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [{}^1s]{}^1 \\ [{}^1s]{}^1 \end{array} \right\}]{}^1$$

where $X = s_0^1[{}^1s]_0$.

Condition: if n is Type 2.

With these two rules we can produce all the dependent tones presented so far. In cases where these rules do not apply because their conditions are not fulfilled, tonal changes do not happen: the syllables with no p-STR remain without a kinetic tone and the syllables with p-STR retain their half-falling tone.

In addition to these two rules, the general tone rule which allows a rising CH-tone to be replaced by a descending one or to be realized phonetically as a level tone can also cause optional tonal changes in CB's (cf. 1.2.1.).

2.4.2. Heightening Rules

After the dependent tones have become finalized, heightening can take place in certain circumstances. There are two types of heightening: tone boosting and upstepping.

In *tone boosting* an entire rising CH-tone (or its descending substitute) is realized in a register which is higher than usual, i.e. the rising tone becomes high rising (and its descending substitute, high descending). This is possible when the non-final block is of Type 1 or when it is labelled "C".

CB Rule No. 3.

$$[_nX [{}^1s]{}^1 |] \rightarrow \begin{array}{cc} 1 & \uparrow 2 \end{array}$$

where $X = s_0^1[{}^1s]_0$.

Condition: if n is Type 1 or is labelled "C" (Types 2C, 3C).

The other type of heightening is *upstepping*. In this process the first p-STR-ed syllable within the second one of two neighbouring CB's rises in pitch (i.e. becomes an upstep) and thus it breaks the downdrift spread over the tone-group. The upstep is also symbolized as (\uparrow). Upstepping can take place when the first CB has a half-falling tone, and (a) the second CB contains more than one p-STR or (b) the second CB has only one p-STR, initiating either an α -tone or a half-falling tone, while the first CB is labelled "A" or is Type 11, 12 or 13.

CB Rule No. 4.

$$(a) \quad \begin{array}{ccccccccc} [{}_nX [{}^1s]{}^1] [{}_{\{f\}} s_0^1 [{}^1s]_1 [{}^{\omega}s]{}^1] & \rightarrow & 1 & 2 & 3 & \uparrow & 4 & 5 \\ 1 & 2 & \{f\} & 3 & 4 & & & \end{array}$$

$$(b) \quad \begin{array}{ccccccccc} [{}_nX [{}^1s]{}^1] [{}_{\{f\}} s_0^1 \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [{}^1s]{}^1 \\ [{}^{\alpha}s]{}^1 \end{array} \right\}] & \rightarrow & 1 & 2 & 3 & \uparrow & 4 \\ 1 & 2 & & 3 & 4 & & \end{array}$$

where $X = s_0^1[{}^1s]_0$.

Conditions: (a) if n is of any type.

(b) if n is labelled "A" (Types 5A, 6A, 9A, 10A) or is of Types 11, 12, 13.

The example below contains no upstep:

- (52) A *'polgármester \`fia. |* (n belongs to Type 10 and f contains
the mayor son+his only one p-STR.)
'The mayor's son.'

But there may be an upstep in the following examples:

- (53) (a) A *'polgármester (†) 'kisebbik \`fia. |* (n belongs to Type 10,
the mayor smaller son+his but f contains more than
one p-STR.)
'The mayor's younger son.'

- (b) Ez *nem a fogorvos unokája, hanem . . .*
('This isn't the dentist's grandson but . . .)
 a *'polgármester (†) \`fia. |* (n is Type 10A.)
the mayor son+his
. . .the mayor's son.'

2.4.3. Pause Rules

At a normal tempo pauses can be made after the following non-final CB types: the non-final unit of coordination (Types 1 and 2), the subclause before a main clause (Type 3), the T-constituent (Type 6), the main clause section of the comment before a subclause (Type 9), and the initial part of the announcement sentence (Type 11), cf. Fónagy (1967). The appearance of the pause at these places makes the tempo only slightly slower, so that it can still be regarded as normal. However, if we make a pause after other kinds of non-final block, our speech becomes slow and jerky. In some cases this may be necessary, e.g. when we are sending a telegram by phone. At a normal tempo of

If both CB's are p-STR-ed, the weakest delimitation form is the one in which the first CB has a half-falling tone, and is followed by neither pause nor upstep at the beginning of the next CB. This is the form of smooth transition. In the strongest form, however, the first CB ends in a high rising CH-tone and is followed by a pause. The other forms of intonational delimitation are between these two extremes. If one or both of the neighbouring CB's are without p-STR (cf. 2.2.5.), there are only two forms of intonational delimitation between them: weak (with no pause) and strong (with a pause).

Knowing the separating power of the intonational delimitation forms enables us to manipulate these forms and thus to use them specially for disambiguation. The connection between neighbouring CB's can be closer or looser and these differences can go together with a difference in meaning. In such cases we can make the listener's job easier by maximizing the strength of the delimitation form if the connection between the CB's is loose (this is called *segregation*), and by minimizing it if the connection is close (this is *integration*). The rules of segregation and integration together are the special rules of intonational delimitation.

Ambiguity sometimes arises from the syntactic type of neighbouring CB's. Thus, for instance, there is a looser connection between the units of interrogative disjunctive coordination (Type 1) than between the units of other kinds of coordination (Type 2). Nevertheless, the general rules of intonational delimitation allow the same delimitation form in both types:

- (55) 'Szombat 'délután, | □ vagy 'vasárnap `délelőtt |
 Saturday afternoon or Sunday morning

Ex. (55) can be both interrogative and non-interrogative disjunctive coordination. In order to avoid misunderstanding (or in order to correct a misunderstanding if one has already occurred), we resort to the special rules of intonational delimitation: we segregate in the interrogative (56a) and integrate in the non-interrogative sentence (56b).

- 56) (a) 'Szombat ↑ 'délután, | □ vagy 'vasárnap `délelőtt? |
 'On Saturday afternoon, or Sunday morning?'

- (b) 'Szombat 'délután, vagy 'vasárnap `délelőtt. |
 'On Saturday afternoon or Sunday morning.'

The connection between coordinated units (Type 2) is looser than that between a modifier and its head (Type 10). Nevertheless, the form produced by the general rules of intonational delimitation can be the same in both cases:

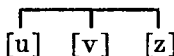
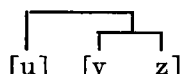
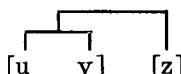
- (57) Egy 'fekete 'kalapos \nő. |
 a black hat+provided woman
 with

Ex. (57) can mean either 'A black woman wearing a hat' (i.e. 'black and hat-wearing woman', where *fekete* and *kalapos* are coordinated), or 'A woman wearing a black hat' (where *fekete* modifies *kalapos*). In order to disambiguate the phrase, we segregate in the case of coordination (58a); but there is no need to integrate in the case of modification (58b), since even the general intonational rules can produce no other form than that of smooth transition between *fekete* and *kalapos*:

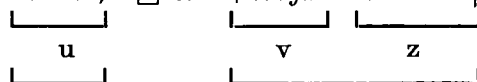
- (58) (a) Egy (t) 'fekete, | □ 'kalapos \nő. |
 Egy 'fekete, □ ↑ 'kalapos \nő. |
 'A black woman wearing a hat.'

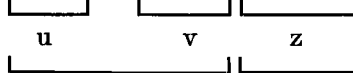
- (b) Egy 'fekete 'kalapos \nő. |
 'A woman wearing a black hat.'

In other cases the ambiguity is due to differences in the depth of the embedding of neighbouring CB's. For instance, three CB's (*u*, *v*, *z*) can be linked together in three ways and the neighbouring CB's can represent different levels of embedding:

- (59) (a)  (b)  (c) 

Such ambiguities can also be solved by resorting to the special intonational rules. Let us see a few examples.

- (60) (a) (↑)'Vörös, | □ és 'sárga \zászlók. |
 red and yellow flags
 'Vörös, □ és ↑ 'sárga \zászlók. |

 'Red (flags), and yellow flags.'

- (b) 'Vörös és 'sárga | \zászlók. |
 'Vörös és 'sárga \zászlók. |

 'Red-and-yellow flags.'

In (60a) there is segregation between *u* and *v*, because the general intonational rules would have allowed a smooth transition between them. On the other hand, (60b) shows integration between *u* and *v*: the stronger forms which are made possible by the general intonational rules here are now forbidden.

- (61) (a) *Ha* (†) 'készen vagy, | □ { *amikor* 'megjövök, | 'fizetek. |
 if ready are+ 2nd sing. when, perf.+ relat. come+1st sing. pay+1st sing.
Ha 'készen vagy, □ *amikor* †'megjövök, 'fizetek. |
u v z
 'If you're ready (now), when I get back I'll pay you.'
- (b) *Ha* 'készen vagy, *amikor* 'megjövök, | □ 'fizetek. |
Ha 'készen vagy, *amikor* 'megjövök, □ †'fizetek. |
u v z
 'If you're ready when I get back, I'll pay you.'

Ex. (61a) shows segregation between *u* and *v* and integration between *v* and *z*. In (61b), however, we can see integration between *u* and *v* and segregation between *v* and *z*.

Let us now summarize the special rules of intonational delimitation.

(i) Integrative rules: (a) The pause is prohibited. (b) The upstep is prohibited. (c) If the non-final block is not embedded in a final block, it must take a half-falling tone.

Integrative CB Rules

- (a) $n \square \rightarrow 1 \emptyset$
 1 2
- (b) $[_n X [^1s]^1] [\{n\} s_0^1 \uparrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [^1s]_1 [^{\omega}s]^1 \\ [^1s]^1 \\ [^{\alpha}s]^1 \end{array} \right\}] \rightarrow 1 \ 2 \ 3 \ 5$
 1 2 3 4 5
- (c) $[_n X \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [^{\sim}s]^1 \\ [^{\sim}s]^1 \end{array} \right\} |] \rightarrow [_n X [^1s]^1];$ if *n* is not embedded in a final block
 where $X = s_0^1 [^1s]_0$.

(ii) Segregative rules: (a) The pause is obligatory, independently of the tempo or the type of the non-final block. (b) The upstep is obligatory, independently of the type of the non-final block. (c) If a non-final block is followed by a non-final block which has a rising tone and is embedded in a final block, the first non-final block must have a rising tone. (d) The rising tone of a non-final block becomes high rising, obligatorily if the non-final block belongs to Type 1, and optionally otherwise.

Segregative CB Rules

- (a) $n \rightarrow 1 \square$; independently of the tempo and the type of n .
1
- (b)
$$\begin{matrix} \text{1} & \text{2} & & \text{3} & & \text{4} \\ {}_n\text{X}[\text{'s}]^1 & [\text{'f}]^n & s_0^1 & \left\{ \begin{matrix} [\text{'s}]_1 [\text{'s}]^1 \\ [\text{'s}]^1 \\ [\text{'s}]^1 \end{matrix} \right\} & \end{matrix} \rightarrow 1 \ 2 \ 3 \uparrow 4; \quad \begin{matrix} \text{independently of the type} \\ \text{of } n. \end{matrix}$$
- (c) ${}_n\text{X}[\text{'s}]^1 \rightarrow {}_n\text{X}[\text{'s}]^1 |] / \text{---} [_f{}_n\text{X}[\text{'s}]^1 |]_1 [_f\text{X}[\text{'s}]^1]^1$
- (d) (i) $\begin{matrix} \text{1} & \text{2} \\ {}_n\text{X}[\text{'s}]^1 |] \end{matrix} \rightarrow 1 \uparrow 2$; if n is Type 1.
- (ii) $\begin{matrix} \text{1} & \text{2} \\ {}_n\text{X}[\text{'s}]^1 |] \end{matrix} \rightarrow 1 \uparrow 2$; if n is other than Type 1.

where $\text{X} = s_0^1 [\text{'s}]_0$.

We resort to the special rules of intonational delimitation (i.e. to segregative and integrative strategies) when the general rules of intonational delimitation are insufficient in themselves to ensure disambiguation. If necessary, these special rules enable us to divide even words into CB's, e.g. *\`szó □ lista* ('word-list'), to distinguish them from their homophones: *\`szólista* ('soloist'). Since the special rules enhance the effectiveness of communication, knowledge of them belongs to communicative competence.

Having discussed the general and special rules of the intonational delimitation of complementary blocks, we shall now go on to the intonation of equivalent blocks.

3. Equivalent Blocks

3.1. On Equivalent Blocks in General

Equivalent blocks (EB's) show tone-concord (cf. 1.3.2.). Tone-concord is due to a special kind of relationship between EB's, which will be called *equivalence relationship*.

The equivalence relationship holds between two linguistic expressions (which may be discontinuous), in the following cases:

(i) The first expression is the non-final unit and the second is the final unit in a coordination of the type "x, nem y" ('x, not y'), e.g. *Péter, nem Jóska* ('Peter, not Joe').

(ii) The first expression is the non-final unit and the second is the final unit in a coordination of the type "x is, nemcsak y" ('x too, not just y'), e.g. *Péter is, nemcsak Jóska* ('Peter too, not just Joe').

(iii) The first expression is an independent subclause (cf. 2.2.1.) and the second is a demonstrative pronominal head in the F-position of the main clause; the head and the subclause belong together because they constitute a nonverb sentence constituent; e.g. *hogy elkésett, az* (approx.: 'that he was late, that fact').

(iv) The first expression is a subconstituent and the second is a demonstrative pronoun in the F-position of the sentence; the subconstituent and the pronoun belong together because they constitute a nonverb sentence constituent; e.g. *a telefon, az* (liter.: 'the telephone, that').

(v) The first expression is a head, the second a non-restrictive relative subclause postmodifying the head, e.g. *Vilmos, aki hentes* ('William, who is a butcher').

(vi) The first expression is a subconstituent, the second a non-restrictive appositive of it, e.g. *Artúr, a rendőr* ('Arthur, the policeman').

In the cases enumerated, the function of the second expression is not to "complete" the first expression, but rather to "repeat" it in some new form. The speaker regards the two expressions as existentially equivalent at the time of speaking; there is an equivalence relationship between them (cf. Brazil—Coulthard—Johns 1980, 31).

EB's emerge around linguistic expressions that are in equivalence relationship and thus they always appear in pairs. They may also contain other linguistic expressions, which do not take part in the equivalence relationship. A matrix block is divided into EB's according to the syntactic type of the EB-pair. All EB's are syntactically motivated: they are determined by surface syntax. EB-pairs as wholes are CB's and EB's may be further divided into CB's.

3.2. The Syntactic Types of Equivalent Blocks

3.2.1. The Three Groups

EB's have six syntactic types, which can be reduced to the following three groups: (a) coordinated EB's, (b) EB's with demonstratives, (c) EB's with non-restrictive postmodification. We shall examine these one by one.

Pauses can always be made between EB's when the tempo is normal, but this possibility will not be indicated in the examples below. It must be borne in mind that the upper limit of each tone-group in an utterance tends to be lower than that of the previous tone-group in the same utterance, and that the tone-groups with falling CH-tones can be fused together into one tone-group (cf. 1.3.1.). The non-final EB in each pair will be symbolized as *n*, and the final one as *f*.

3.2.2. Coordinated Equivalent Blocks

Type 1: *n* = contains the non-final unit of the coordination type "x, nem y" ('x, not y') and lasts from the beginning of the comment to *f*. *f* = starts with the final unit of the same coordination type and lasts till the end of the comment.

They stand in separate tone-groups and there is tone-concord between them.

- (62) (a) \backslash Péterrel (beszélt), | \backslash nem Jókával (beszélt). |
 Peter + talked + not Joe + with talked +
 with 3rd sing. 3rd sing.
- (b) \sim Péterrel (beszélt), | \sim nem Jókával (beszélt). |
 '(He talked) to Peter, not to Joe.'
- (c) És ha \prime Péterrel (beszélt), | \prime nem Jókával (beszélt)? |
 and if
- (d) És ha \sim Péterrel (beszélt), | \sim nem Jókával (beszélt)? |
 'And if (he talked) to Peter, not to Joe?'
- (e) \wedge Péterrel (beszélt), | \wedge nem Jókával (beszélt)? |
 '(Did he talk) to Peter, not to Joe?'

N. B. In the Hungarian sentences either or both instances of the verb *beszélt* can be ellipted. In the English translations either the second instance or both instances of the verb can be ellipted.

- (63) (a) \backslash Írta (a könyvet), | \backslash nem szerkesztette (a könyvet). |
 wrote the book + not edited + def. the book + Acc.
 + def. Acc. + 3rd sing.
 + 3rd
 sing.

(b) \sim Írta (a könyvet), | \sim nem szerkesztette (a könyvet). |
 'He wrote { the book, } not edited it.'
 it, }

(c) És ha írta (a könyvet), | 'nem szerkesztette (a könyvet)? |
 and if

(d) És ha írta (a könyvet), | \sim nem szerkesztette (a könyvet)? |
 'And if he wrote { the book, } not edited it?
 it, }

(e) Írta (a könyvet), | \sim nem szerkesztette (a könyvet)? |
 'Did he write { the book, } not edit it?'
 it, }

N. B. In the Hungarian sentences either or both instances of the object *a könyvet* can be ellipted. In the English translations either the second instance or both instances of the object can be pronominalized.

In the EB-pair of Type 1 the speaker first asserts a state of affairs and then denies another state of affairs, while putting a pragmatic equation mark between the two. The linguistic reflexes of this "equation mark" are the conjuncts *azaz*, *vagyis* ('that is to say'), which can be inserted between them. The positive state of affairs in initial position satisfies the listener: he knows the truth. What comes after it is the pragmatic implication of the positive state of affairs.

A different situation would arise if the negative state of affairs stood first, as in the coordination type "*nem x, hanem y*" ('not x, but y'). The units in such constructions are CB's rather than EB's. The negative state of affairs in initial position does not satisfy the listener: it allows too many continuations and is thus incomplete, e.g.:

(64) 'Nem Jóskával (beszért), hanem Péterrel (beszért). |
 not Joe+with talked+ but Peter+ talked+
 3rd sing. with 3rd sing.
 '(He talked) not to-Joe but to Peter.'

Type 2: *n* = contains the non-final unit of the coordination type "*x is, nemcsak y*" ('*x* too, not just *y*') and lasts from the beginning of the comment to *f*. *f* = starts with the final unit of the same coordination type and lasts till the end of the comment.

The intonation and the explanation for it are the same as in the case of Type 1.

The only new words in the examples of (65) below are *nemcsak* ('not only') and *is* ('also').

- (65) (a) \backslash Péterrel *is* (*beszélt*), | \backslash nemcsak Jóskával (*beszélt*). |
 (b) \sim Péterrel *is* (*beszélt*), | \sim nemcsak Jóskával (*beszélt*). |
 'He talked to Peter too, not just to Joe.'
 (c) *És ha* \sim Péterrel *is* (*beszélt*), | \sim nemcsak Jóskával (*beszélt*)? |
 (d) *És ha* \sim Péterrel *is* (*beszélt*), | \sim nemcsak Jóskával (*beszélt*)? |
 'And if (he talked) to Peter too, not just to Joe?'
 (e) \wedge Péterrel *is* (*beszélt*), | \wedge nemcsak Jóskával (*beszélt*)? |
 'Did he talk to Peter too, not just to Joe?'

3.2.3. Equivalent Blocks with Demonstratives

Type 3: n = an independent subclause which constitutes a nonverb sentence constituent with the demonstrative pronominal head that stands in the F-position of the main clause following the subclause. *f* = the main clause which contains in its F-position a demonstrative pronominal head with which *n* constitutes a nonverb sentence constituent.

The two EB's are in separate tone-groups and there is tone-concord between them.

- (66) (a) *Hogy* \backslash elkésett, | \backslash az bosszantotta. |
 that, was late + that, annoyed + def. +
 conj. 3rd sing. demonstr. 3rd sing.
 (b) *Hogy* \sim elkésett, | \sim az bosszantotta. |
 Approx.: 'It was the fact that he was late that annoyed him.'
 (c) *És hogyha* \sim elkésett, | \sim az bosszantotta? |
 and that + if
 (d) *És hogyha* \sim elkésett, | \sim az bosszantotta? |
 'And if it was the fact that he was late that annoyed him?'
 (e) *Hogy* \wedge elkésett, | \wedge az bosszantotta? |
 'Was it the fact that he was late that annoyed him?'

According to É. Kiss (1981a, 198–204), sentences like those in (66) are derived from deep structures in which the demonstrative pronoun and

the subclause are sister nodes in a complex noun phrase. The focusing transformation moves the complex noun phrase (i.e. the pronominal head plus the subclause) into F-position, cf. (67a). But the subclause cannot remain in F-position: it must be extracted from there, either to the right, as in (67b), or to the left, as in (67c). Extraction to the left results in an EB-pair of Type 3.

(67) (a) [_F *Az*, *hogy elkésett*] bosszantotta.
 └───┬──────────┘
 Head Subclause

(b) [_F *Az* ∅] bosszantotta, *hogy elkésett*.
 └───┘ └───┘
 Head Subclause

(c) *Hogy elkésett*, [_F *az* ∅] bosszantotta.
 └──────────┘ └───┘
 Subclause Head

However, Kenesei (1983) argues that the subclause in sentences like (67) does not take its surface position as a result of movement transformations but is generated there.

Earlier I thought that É. Kiss's hypothesis provided a natural explanation for the phenomenon of tone-concord (cf. Varga 1983, 142). Now I find the explanation of tone-concord to be not in the deep structure but rather in the equivalence relationship between certain parts of the surface structure. The fact of tone-concord is independent of both É. Kiss's and Kenesei's views.

There is an equivalence relationship between the initial subclause and the demonstrative that follows it, because they have identical reference and this reference is identified by the initial subclause completely and unambiguously.

The situation would be different if the demonstrative preceded the subclause, as in (68), cf. (67b).

(68) 'Az bosszantotta, hogy \elkésett. |
 that, annoyed-def. that, was late+
 demonstr. +3rd sing. conj. 3rd sing.

Approx.: 'What annoyed him was that he was late.'

In (68) the reference of the demonstrative is provided by the subclause that comes later: the sentence is "incomplete" without the subclause, so the main clause and subclause are CB's rather than EB's.

At this point it can be asked why there is no tone-concord when the demonstrative head is in the T-position of the main clause, as in (69):

- (69) *Hogy* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 'elkésett \\ \text{was late} + \\ 3\text{rd sing.} \end{array} \right\}$ *az* \backslash *bosszantotta.* |
 that, $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{that,} \\ \text{demonstr.} \end{array} \right\}$ annoyed + def.
 conj. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 'elkésett, | \end{array} \right\}$ +3rd sing.
 'That he was late, annoyed him.'

After all, the equivalence relationship that holds between the subclause and head when the head is in F-position must also hold when the head is in T-position. Nevertheless, we find no tone-concord here: intonationally the subclause behaves as a CB and has, in fact, been treated as such, cf. Ex. (27i) in 2.2.2.

The only answer I can provide at the moment is this: (a) The equivalence relationship certainly holds between the subclause and the demonstrative head even when the latter is in T-position. (b) However, in the stage of stressing, which preceded the intonational segmentation of the sentence, p-STR-es were only given to the subclause but not to the demonstrative head. (c) Since the presence of p-STR entails the presence of some kinetic tone, the subclause must have some kinetic tone. (d) Since the absence of p-STR entails the absence of a kinetic tone, the demonstrative head cannot have a kinetic tone. (e) Consequently, there can be no tone-concord between them, and the independent subclause is best regarded as a *pseudo-CB*. (Syntactically it is an EB, phonologically it is a CB.)

Besides, the n-STR-ed demonstrative in T-position is very easily dropped and the subclause before it emerges as a true CB, as in (70).

- (70) *Hogy* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 'elkésett, \\ 'elkésett, | \end{array} \right\}$ \backslash *bosszantotta.* |
 'That he was late, annoyed him.'

Type 4: *n* = a subconstituent that forms a nonverb sentence constituent with the demonstrative pronoun that stands in the F-position of the sentence-part following *n*. *f* = the part of the sentence which lasts from the end of *n* to the end of the sentence and which contains in its F-position a demonstrative pronoun with which *n* forms a nonverb sentence constituent.

Both the intonation and its explanation are the same as in the case of Type 3.

- (71) (a) *A* \backslash *telefon,* | \backslash *az* *szól.* |
 the telephone that, rings
 demonstr.

- (b) $A \sim telefon, | \sim az sz\acute{o}l. |$
 Approx.: 'It is the telephone that's ringing.'
 Liter.: 'The telephone, that's ringing.'
- (c) $\acute{E}s\ ha\ a\ 'telefon, | 'az sz\acute{o}l? |$
 and if
- (d) $\acute{E}s\ ha\ a\ \sim telefon, | \sim az sz\acute{o}l? |$
 'And if it is the telephone that's ringing?'
- (e) $A\ ^{\wedge}telefon, | ^{\wedge}az sz\acute{o}l? |$
 'Is it the telephone that's ringing?'

For reasons similar to those given in connection with (69), the non-verb constituent is best regarded as a pseudo-CB (viz. of Type 6A) when it is followed by a demonstrative in T-position, as in (72).

- (72) $A \left\{ \begin{array}{l} 'telefon, \\ 'telefon, | \end{array} \right\} az\ \backslash sz\acute{o}l. |$
 Approx.: 'As for the telephone, it is ringing.'

3.2.4. Equivalent Blocks with Non-Restrictive Postmodification

Type 5: (i) n = that part of the comment which contains a head in F-position and lasts till the beginning of f . f = a non-restrictive relative clause modifying the head in n . The two EB's together form a comment.

(ii) n = a head in T-position. f = a non-restrictive relative clause modifying the head. The two EB's together form a T-constituent.

(iii) n = a head in N-position. f = a non-restrictive relative clause modifying the head. The two EB's together form an N-constituent.

(i) The subclause cannot stand immediately after the head it modifies when the latter is in the F-position of the main clause, because an F-constituent is followed by the verb first (unless the verb is deleted as an element carrying old information). The two EB's are in separate tone-groups and there is tone-concord between them.

- (73) (a) $\backslash Vilmoossal\ (besz\acute{e}ltek), | aki\ \backslash hentes. |$
 William + talked + who, butcher
 with 3rd plur. relat.
- (b) $\sim Vilmoossal\ (besz\acute{e}ltek), | aki\ \sim hentes. |$
 '(They talked) to William, who is a butcher.'

- (c) *És ha 'Vilmossal (beszéltek), | aki 'hentes?*
and if
- (d) *És ha ~Vilmossal (beszéltek), | aki ~hentes?* |
'And if (they talked) to Williams, who is a butcher?'
- (e) *^Vilmossal (beszéltek), | aki ^hentes?* |
'(Did they talk) to William, who is a butcher?'

(ii) If the head is in T-position, the subclause follows it immediately and together they constitute a higher-ranking T-constituent. The p-STR-es in both EB's may have been reduced to s-STR-es in the stage of stress assignment. If the p-STR-es are retained, the higher-ranking T-constituent will have more than one p-STR, and thus, in accordance with CB Rule 1b, the half-falling tone starting on its last p-STR-ed syllable can be replaced by a rising CH-tone if the dominant tone of the comment is a tone of Type α (i.e. falling or falling-rising).

- (74) (a) *'Vilmosról, aki 'hentes* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{még ~nem hallottak. |} \\ \text{yet not heard + 3rd} \\ \text{about relat. plur.} \end{array} \right\}$
'Vilmosról, | aki 'hentes, | $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{még ~nem hallottak. |} \end{array} \right\}$
'They haven't yet heard of William, who is a butcher.'
- (b) *És ha 'Vilmosról, aki 'hentes,* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{még 'nem hallottak? |} \\ \text{még ~nem hallottak? |} \end{array} \right\}$
and if
'And if they haven't yet heard of William, who is a butcher?'
- (c) *'Vilmosról, aki 'hentes, még ^nem hallottak? |*
'Haven't they heard yet of William, who is a butcher?'

(iii) If the head is in N-position, it is also immediately followed by the subclause, and the two EB's together constitute a higher-ranking N-constituent. If they are p-STR-ed and are not followed in the sentence by any other p-STR-ed constituent, they will be in separate tone-groups and there will be tone-concord between them. However, if the dominant tone of the comment that includes the N-constituent is falling, the falling tone of the non-final EB within the N-constituent can be replaced by a rising one.

- (75) (a) *'Meghívták* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{az ~apját, |} \\ \text{perf. + the father +} \\ \text{invited + his + Acc.} \\ \text{3rd plur. az 'apját, |} \end{array} \right\}$ *aki ~svéd.* |
who, Swedish
relat.

modifier may provide some new information about the head's denotatum, this information is unnecessary for the identification of the latter.

Type 6: (i) n = that part of the comment which contains a subconstituent in F-position and lasts till the beginning of f . f = that part of the comment which begins with a non-restrictive appositive of the subconstituent in n and lasts till the end of the comment. The two EB's constitute a comment.

(ii) n = a subconstituent in T-position. f = a non-restrictive appositive of the subconstituent in n . The two EB's together form a T-constituent.

(iii) n = a subconstituent in N-position. f = a non-restrictive appositive of the subconstituent in n . The two EB's together form an N-constituent.

The intonation and the explanation for it are the same as in the case of Type 5.

The examples in (78) show Subtype (i).

- (78) (a) Ezt a \backslash szomszédaink mondták, | \backslash Gulyásék. |
 this the neighbours+ said+3rd Gulyáses
 +Acc. our plur.
- (b) Ezt a \sim szomszédaink mondták, | \sim Gulyásék. |
 Approx.: 'This was said by our neighbours, the Gulyáses.'
- (c) És ha ezt a \prime szomszédaink mondták, | \prime Gulyásék? |
 and if
- (d) És ha ezt a \sim szomszédaink mondták, | \sim Gulyásék? |
 'And if this was said by our neighbours, the Gulyáses?'
- (e) Ezt a \wedge szomszédaink mondták, | \wedge Gulyásék? |
 'Was this said by our neighbours, the Gulyáses?'

In Type 6, the postmodifier may come immediately after the subconstituent in n even when the latter is in F-position, e.g.:

- (79) Ezt a \backslash szomszédaink, | \backslash Gulyásék mondták.
 'This was said by our neighbours, the Gulyáses.'

The examples in (80) show Subtype (ii). The only new words are: *korán* ('early') and *kelnek* ('rise+3rd plur.').

- (80) (a) A \prime szomszédaink, \prime Gulyásék, } } \backslash korán kelnek. |
 A \prime szomszédaink, | \prime Gulyásék, | } } \sim korán kelnek. |
 'Our neighbours, the Gulyáses, get up early.'

- (b) És ha a 'szomszédaink, 'Gulyásék, { $\begin{matrix} \text{'korán kelnek?} \\ \text{'korán kelnek?} \end{matrix}$ |
 'And if our neighbours, the Gulyáses, get up early? |
- (c) A 'szomszédaink 'Gulyásék \wedge korán kelnek? |
 'Do our neighbours, the Gulyáses, get up early?'

Subtype (iii) is illustrated by (81) and (82). The new words in (81) are: *itt* ('here'), *van* ('is'), *Artúr* ('Arthur'), *a* ('the') and *rendőr* ('policeman').

- (81) (a) 'Itt van { $\begin{matrix} \text{'Artúr,} \\ \text{'Artúr,} \end{matrix}$ | } a \wedge rendőr. |
 (b) 'Itt van \wedge Artúr, | a \wedge rendőr. |
 'Here is Arthur, the policeman.'
 (c) És ha 'itt van \wedge Artúr, | a \wedge rendőr? |
 (d) És ha 'itt van \wedge Artúr, | a \wedge rendőr? |
 'And if Arthur, the policeman, is here?'
 (e) 'Itt van \wedge Artúr, | a \wedge rendőr? |
 'Is Arthur, the policeman, here?'
- (82) (a) 'Meghívták { $\begin{matrix} \text{'Artúrt,} & a & \text{'rendőrt,} \\ \text{perf. +} & & \text{Arthur the policeman} \\ \text{invited +} & & \text{+ Acc.} & & \text{+ Acc.} \\ \text{def. + 3rd plur.} & & \text{'Artúrt,} & | & a & \text{'rendőrt,} \end{matrix}$ | } a \wedge bálba. |
 the ball + to
 (b) 'Meghívták 'Artúrt, a 'rendőrt, a \wedge bálba. |
 'They invited Arthur, the policeman, to the ball.'
 (c) És ha 'meghívták 'Artúrt, a 'rendőrt, a \wedge bálba? |
 and if
 (d) És ha 'meghívták 'Artúrt, a 'rendőrt, a \wedge bálba? |
 'And if they invited Arthur, the policeman, to the ball?'
 (e) 'Meghívták 'Artúrt, a 'rendőrt, a \wedge bálba? |
 'Did they invite Arthur, the policeman, to the ball?'

It may happen that the EB's are without p-STR-es, when they are in T-position (83a) or N-position (83b).

- (83) (a) ,Artúr, a ,rendőr, \wedge korán kel. |
 'Arthur, the policeman, gets up early.'
 (b) \wedge Meghívták ,Artúrt, a ,rendőrt. |
 Approx.: 'They did invite Arthur, the policeman.'

3.3. Rules of the Intonational Delimitation of Equivalent Blocks

Tone-concord can be most easily described as a right-to-left process, as if the tone of the n -block appeared in anticipation of the tone of the f -block. This means that the tone of the f -block is regarded as the dominant tone (cf. 1.3.2.).

(i) If the EB's are p-STR-ed, the tone initiated by the last (rightmost) p-STR-ed syllable in the n -block must be identical with the tone initiated by the last p-STR-ed syllable in the f -block.

EB Rule No. 1.

$$[_nX[{}^1s]{}^1] \rightarrow [_nX[{}^{w_1}s]{}^1] / \text{---} [_fX[{}^{w_1}s]{}^1]{}^1$$

where $X = s_0^1[{}^1s]_0$

w_1 = any tone, identical in n and f .

(ii) If the EB's are of Types 5 or 6 and form an N-constituent in a sentence whose comment has a falling dominant tone, the falling CH-tone of the first EB can be replaced by a rising CH-tone.

EB Rule No. 2.

$$[_nX[\backslash s]{}^1] \rightarrow [_nX[{}^1s]{}^1] / \text{---} [_fX[\backslash s]{}^1]{}^1$$

where $X = s_0^1[{}^1s]_0$.

Conditions: if the EB's form an N-constituent and are of Types 5 or 6.

Needless to say, the general tone rule which allows a rising CH-tone to be replaced by a descending one or to be realized phonetically as a mid-high level tone, also applies to EB's, with the restriction that it applies to both EB's simultaneously or to neither of them.

Having summed up the dependent tones, let us now turn to pauses.

(iii) A normal tempo of speech allows pauses to be held between non-final and final EB's of any type.

EB Rule No. 3.

$$n \quad f \rightarrow 1 \quad \square \quad 2$$

$$1 \quad 2$$

Condition: if the tempo is normal.

For instance:

- (84) \backslash Péterrel beszélt, | (□) \backslash nem Jóska-val. |
 Peter+ talked+ not Joe+with
 with 3rd sing.
 'He talked to Peter, not to Joe.'

(iv) If the sentence continues after the final EB (this happens when the EB's are of Types 5 or 6, and form a T-constituent or a non-final N-constituent), the pause is obligatory both between the EB's and between the final EB and the rest of the sentence (*r*), when the tempo is normal.

EB Rule No. 4.

$n \quad f \quad r \rightarrow 1 \quad \square \quad 2 \quad \square \quad 3$
 1 2 3

For example:

- (85) \acute{V} ilmost, | □ aki \acute{h} entes, | □ \backslash meghívták. |
 William+ who, butcher perf.+invited
 Acc. relat. +def.+3rd plur.
 'They invited William, who is a butcher.'

Under certain conditions an upstep may be formed in the second EB.

(v) If both EB's have a falling or falling-rising CH-tone, the first p-STR-ed syllable within the final EB can be raised in pitch.

EB Rule No. 5.

$[_n X [{}^a s]] [{}_f s_0 [{}^1 s]] [{}^a s] \rightarrow 1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad \uparrow \quad 4 \quad 5$
 1 2 3 4 5

where $X = s_0 [{}^1 s]_0$

a = either of the two α -tones, identical in *n* and *f*.

In (86a) this rule is used to show that *János bácsi* ('Uncle John') is a non-restrictive appositive. In (86b), where *János bácsi* is a vocative, the rule cannot work, since vocatives are not EB's.

- (86) (a) \backslash Én vagyok az, | (□) \uparrow \backslash János bácsi. |
 I am that, John uncle
 demonstr.
 'It's me, Uncle John.' (said by Uncle John.)

- (b) `Én vagyok az, | (□) `János bácsi. |
 'It's me, Uncle John.' (said to Uncle John.)

4. Concluding Remarks

(i) This study has dealt with the intonational segmentation of the Hungarian utterance, i.e. with the problem of how the Hungarian utterance is divided into parts by intonational delimitation forms. The utterance-parts so obtained can be called intonational blocks. In most cases the intonational blocks are determined by the surface syntax of the utterance, but sometimes they are determined by pragmatic considerations.

The intonational blocks are hierarchically organized. When a block is divided into lower-ranking blocks, the former is the matrix block of the latter and the latter are the constituent blocks of the former. Certain constituent blocks behave like "foreign bodies" within their matrix blocks and are, therefore, called *i n o r g a n i c b l o c k s*. For instance, quoting clauses like *mondta Péter* ('said Peter') are inorganic blocks. When the constituent blocks are genuine parts of the syntactic structure and meaning of their matrix blocks, they are *o r g a n i c b l o c k s*. It is the organic blocks that the present paper has examined in detail. The tone initiated by the last p-STR-ed syllable in a matrix block is the dominant tone of that matrix block. The organic constituent block initiating the dominant tone within the matrix block functions as the dominant block, and the organic constituent blocks before it as dependent blocks. The last p-STR-ed syllable in a dependent block initiates a dependent tone. The dominant tone in each matrix block constrains the dependent tones.

The organic constituent blocks of a matrix block can be in two kinds of relationship with each other: complementary (the final block "completes" the non-final block), and equivalent (the final block is "equivalent" to the non-final block). Thus, organic constituent blocks can be specified as either *c o m p l e m e n t a r y b l o c k s* or *e q u i v a l e n t b l o c k s*. These two groups differ in their intonational behaviour as well. In the case of p-STR-ed complementary blocks the dependent tones differ in predictable ways from the dominant tone. In the case of p-STR-ed equivalent blocks the dependent blocks are the same as the dominant tone.

While the equivalent blocks are all syntactically determined, some of the complementary blocks are determined on a pragmatic basis.

The highest-ranking matrix block is the *a u t o n o m o u s b l o c k*. This is functionally a sentence because it carries out an independent illocutionary act. It is p-STR-ed, and stands in a separate tone-group, with its CH-tone being independent of the CH-tone of any other autonomous block.

Each utterance consists of one or more than one autonomous block, each autonomous block of one or more than one constituent block, and each constituent block of one or more than one lower-ranking constituent block.

(ii) Since the tones of the dependent blocks are constrained by the dominant tone, and the highest-ranking block that has an independent dominant tone is the autonomous block, the ultimate domain of Hungarian speech melody is the autonomous block.

It has often been claimed that in English any tone can be used over any stretch of the utterance as long as it expresses the speaker's attitude (cf. Pike 1945, 23), or the speaker's assessment of the stretch as being new or old information for the hearer (cf. Brazil—Coulthard—Johns 1980, 13—19). This principle of "any tone anywhere" has been convincingly criticized by Bing, who claims that the ultimate domain of English speech melody is the highest-ranking sentence, which is the same as our "utterance" (see Introduction); the tones found within the highest-ranking sentence are all derived from one and the same deep melodic representation, however different they may be on the surface (Bing 1980, 16, 68—74). Daneš, primarily in connection with the Czech language, also claimed that the ultimate domain of speech melody was the utterance (Daneš 1960, 44—45). Nevertheless, it seems that in Hungarian a free choice of tone is possible only in autonomous blocks and not in utterances. If there are two or more autonomous blocks in an utterance, each of them will have an independent tone. It is true, however, that most utterances seem to be coextensive with only one autonomous block. Below the rank of the autonomous block the tones are not free but heavily constrained by the dominant tone of the autonomous block.

(iii) The pause-related and pitch-related boundary signals are independent variables: they combine freely in the particular forms of intonational delimitation. That is why these forms are rather different phonetically, and the stretches of talk delimited by them (i.e. the intonational blocks) have no unitary phonological status. The tone-group is a phonological unit, whether or not its end (i.e. the tone-group boundary) is marked by a pause. On the other hand, a pause or upstep in the middle of a tone-group does not break the tone-group into two phonological units.

Halliday's rankscale of phonological units seems to be applicable to Hungarian as well: one or more phonemes constitute a syllable, one or more syllables a foot, and one or more feet a tone-group (cf. Halliday 1967, 12). This hierarchy is remarkable for not resorting to the notion of pause in defining the phonological units. It can be completed by the addition of the utterance, which consists of one or more tone-groups.

(iv) It is fairly widely held that pauses can be inserted between lower-ranking blocks after they have been inserted between higher-ranking ones,

Secondly: It seems that Chomsky—Halle (1968, 372) overestimated the role of performance in dividing the surface structure into phonological phrases (i.e. intonational units). It is often admitted nowadays that there is a closer relationship between the units of surface syntax and the units of phonology than was recognized earlier, cf. Selkirk (1978), Nespor—Vogel (1982), even if there is no automatic correspondence between them. This is certainly true of Hungarian.

The places where some sort of intonational delimitation is necessary are in most cases determined by the syntactic surface structure of the Hungarian matrix block. The particular form of intonational delimitation (i.e. whether or not it contains a tone-group boundary or a pause or an upstep, etc.) is determined by (a) the syntactic and pragmatic labels of the blocks to be delimited, (b) the previous intonational choices (stressing and the dominant tone of the autonomous block), (c) the requirements of effective communication (the knowledge of where pauses are possible or necessary at a normal tempo, and of what modifications are necessary in integration and segregation). The freedom of performance is restricted to cases where these three factors allow alternative forms of intonational delimitation and the speaker can choose between them.

Thirdly: The role of syntax is not equally important in the three intonational choices. The first intonational choice is assigning a stress degree to each syllable within the utterance. The second is a choice of the dominant tone in each autonomous block of the utterance. The third is establishing the intonational delimitation forms between the constituent blocks. It seems that the role of syntax is smallest in choosing the dominant tone of the autonomous block, it is greater in stressing, and even greater in placing and shaping the intonational delimitation forms.

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ВОСПРИЯТИЕ ИНТОНАЦИИ В СОПОСТАВИТЕЛЬНОМ ИССЛЕДОВАНИИ

МАРИЯ ГОШИ

Восприятие определяют физические особенности, отмеченные благодаря свойствам действия слухового механизма, а также языковые характеристики. Толкование речевых явлений происходит в результате комплексного процесса (ср., напр., Кузнецова, 1973, 41). С помощью экспериментов мы попытались найти ответ на то, какие физические особенности мы ощущаем при отождествлении интонационных средств, каким образом появляются иннервации в нашем суждении об интонации иностранного языка. Контрастивные исследования именно благодаря совпадениям и различиям, которые наглядно проявляются в восприятии родного-неродного языка, отлично пригодны для выяснения этих характеристик. Как у каждого языка имеется своя артикуляционная база, так же имеется и своя перцептивная база. Тот, кто знает много языков, владеет многими перцептивными базами (Джапаридзе, Ученые записки 60, 1970, 250). Однако определяющей остается в основном перцептивная база родного языка.

В эксперименте среди интонационных средств мы исследовали 5 на уровне речи, а именно речевую мелодику, ударение, темп, паузу и ритм. Для анализа каждого интонационного средства мы дали по 5 различных примеров. Таким образом нижеследующие 25 русских и 25 венгерских предложений представляли собой языковой материал.

I. группа (мелодика)

1. Egy parasztasszony jelenik meg a szőlőtőkék között.
2. Hányan vannak azok az aratók?
3. És akkor a hallgatóság?
4. Más vagyok.
5. Aztán kiadta a bérét?

II. группа (ударение)

1. Érdemes hát meghallgatni a szavak vallomását.
2. Az iskolás gyermekek szavalási módját mindenki ismeri.
3. Műelemzés sokféle van és még többféle lehetséges.
4. A család éppen befejezte az ebédet.
5. A technika pedig papja ennek az új csodának.

III. группа (темп)

1. Ez is az irodalom misztikumához tartozik.
2. Egy paraszttasszony jelenik meg a szőlőtőkék között.
3. A technika pedig papja ennek az új csodának.
4. A család éppen befejezte az ebédet.
5. Gazdálkodj jobban a hátralevő időddel!

IV. группа (пауза)

1. A nyelv nem csupán beteljesít és gyönyörködtet.
2. Azóta ezen a helyen nem nő fű.
3. A rajzsorozat alkalmasabb az életet, jellemet, a gondolkodásmódot bemutatni.
4. Az a félreérthetetlen érzésem volt, más vagyok.
5. Ez a kötet annak párja és folytatása.

V. группа (ритм)

1. A következő órák alatt is azt olvastam.
2. Ez a kötet annak párja és folytatása.
3. A nyelv nem csupán beteljesít és gyönyörködtet.
4. Addig a nagy vízerőmű-telepig kell elmennek.
5. Hányan vannak azok az aratók?

I.

1. Мы живем в деревне.
2. Ученик учит?
3. Кто вам сказал об этом?
4. А экзамены?
5. Вы идете на концерт?

II.

1. Учитель учит, ученик учится.
2. Мальчик гулял по широкому полю один.
3. Ученик учит?
4. Здорова? Ну, так садись!
5. Вы идете на концерт?

III.

1. Когда вы видели его?
2. Он был задавлен бедностью.
3. Утром надеваю рубашку, брюки, ботинки, пальто и отправляюсь в школу.
4. Здорова? Ну, так садись!
5. Ученик учит?

IV.

1. Насущными делами своими он совсем перестал и не хотел заниматься.
2. Когда вы были в Москве, где вы жили?
3. Обратитесь к горничной или дежурной по этажу!
4. Каждое утро к стеклу окошечка прислонялось маленькое розовое личико.
5. Учитель учит, ученик учится.

V.

1. Когда вы видели его?
2. Вам понравился спектакль?
3. Кто вам сказал об этом?
4. Мы соберемся весной, когда зазеленеют деревья.
5. Он был подавлен бедностью.

Информанты: 13 русских и 13 венгров: по 3 мужчин и по 10 женщин. Второй язык знали все, хотя и на разном уровне. Информанты каждое предложение прослушали дважды, сначала заполнили тесты на своем родном языке, а затем — на иностранном.

Объективные измерения мы провели измерителем основной высоты звука и интенсивности и записали с помощью мингографа. На полученных регистраторах мы точно могли измерить временные изменения (в мсек), величину фреквенции (в гц) и величину интенсивности (в дб). Дублексный осциллограф помог в отождествлении звуков. Информаторам нужно было решить на 5 частичных задач, относящихся к восприятию пяти средств интонации. Типы задач были следующими: 1. Изображение мелодики прослушанных предложений. 2. Отметка главного и побочного ударения в предложении. 3. Перцепция темпа с быстрой, средней и медленной оценкой. 4. Отметка пауз, имеющих в предложениях. 5. Оценка ритма: с определением ускоренного, замедленного или равномерного ритма.

О восприятии мелодики. Информаторам нужно было изобразить мелодику услышанных предложений в тройном поле, которые соответствовали нижней, средней и верхней звуковой шкале. Объективная частота разделяющих поле линий — 100, 200, 300 гц.

Формы мелодики в обоих языках имеют особенности звуковой оболочки определенного содержания; мы выбрали по 5 мелодик так, чтобы их структуры в обоих языках были схожими (ср. с русской мелодикой Jones—Ward, 1969, 220—36). Характеристики венгерской мелодики: 1. С разницей фреквенции 20—40 гц до конца имеют слегка восходящий характер; диапазон 120—140 гц. Начало речевого такта слегка восходит, затем за 230 мсек нисходит до 100 гц (с 240 до 140 гц). Для повествовательного предложения характерно понижение голоса (интонации). 2. После скачка в 130 гц с 340 до 180 гц за 130 мсек — падающая, а затем до конца — слегка нисходящая, диа-

пазон — 110—340 гц. Интонация, характерная для вопросительного предложения с вопросительным словом. 3. С начала речевого такта — нисходящая в 40—60 гц, к концу настолько же восходящая, на последней 260 мсек восходящая с 250 до 290 гц форма мелодики. Диапазон 200—290 гц. Интонация характерна для т. наз. незаконченного вопроса. 4. После повышения в 20 гц за 190 мсек — 70 гц (с 200 до 130 гц) в начале нисходящая, а затем до конца мягко нисходящая мелодика. Диапазон ее 100—200 гц. Интонация характерна для повествовательного предложения. 5. С начала речевого такта понижается с 10 до 20 гц, затем на предпоследнем слоге предложения за 100 мсек подскакивает со 170 до 350 гц, на последнем слоге за 120 мсек падает с 250 до 160 гц. Проявление интонации т. наз. вопросительного предложения без вопросительного слова (решаемый вопрос).

Характеристики русской мелодики: 1. Начало речевого такта за 170 мсек восходит с 220 до 360 гц, затем с 360 гц за 180 мсек нисходит до 220 гц; после этого мягко нисходит до конца речевого такта. Диапазон 150—360 гц. Одна из мелодических форм ИК-1 системы русской интонации. 2. Мелодика мягко восходит от начала речевого такта и на предпоследнем слоге за 90 мсек восходит с 330 до 400 гц, затем на последнем слоге за 250 мсек нисходит с 400 до 190 гц. Диапазон — 190—400 гц. Одна из форм мелодики ИК-3. 3. После некоторого восхождения речевой такт за 150 мсек падает с 400 до 210 гц, затем до конца мягко нисходит. Ее диапазон — 180—400 гц. Одно из проявлений ИК-2. 4. Мелодика после 90 мсек-ого «колыхания» за 190 мсек нисходит с 320 до 190 гц, затем повторно парит. На последнем слоге за 320 мсек восходит с 200 до 280 гц. Ее диапазон — 190—320 гц. Одна из форм мелодики типа ИК-4. 5. Речевой такт после незначительного повышения в начале (за 260 мсек 20 гц) за 140 мсек наступает восход в 170 гц (с 230 до 400 гц), затем мелодика за 170 мсек снижается обратно с 400 до 190 гц. После этого до конца имеет мягко нисходящий характер. Ее диапазон — 170—400 гц. Относится к типу ИК-3.

На основе структуры мелодики в обоих языках мы считаем тождественными: 2. венг. — 3. русск.; 3. венг. — 4. русск.; 5. венг. — 2. русск.; а также 2. венг. — 1. русск.; 1. венг. — 1. русск. Типизацию русской мелодики по ее функции мы провели на основе системы интонационных конструкций Е. А. Брызгуновой (М., 1977³).

Изображение мелодики в обеих экспериментальных группах — хорошее; объективно похожие мелодики информаторы отмечали также подобным образом (или точно так же). Изображение тона в обеих группах было хорошим. Единственное исключение представляла собой мелодика венгерского т. наз. решаемого вопроса (5. венг.), и соответствующая ей форма мелодики русского вопроса без вопросительного слова (2. русск.). Рисунки венгерских информаторов в случае обеих форм мелодики отличные; в то время как 15% русских информаторов почувствовало понижение конца мелодики в

родной форме, то 30% — в форме иностранного языка. Объяснение этой существенной перцепционной разницы скрывается в том, что в то время как, в венгерской интонационной системе на предпоследнем слоге предложения в этой форме обязательно восходящего, а затем на последнем слоге, обязательно нисходящего типа несет значение, то каждый тип русской интонации содержит различные формы мелодики по отношению к ударной, предупредительной и заударной части. В этом случае нашей моделью предложения является одна из форм мелодики ИК-3 (Ср. ук. раб. Брызгуновой, 120—1). Изображение высоты звука, расположения тона и диапазона соответствует величинам, полученным объективными измерениями: рисунки информаторов показывают расхождение всего в 50, а реже в 100 гц по сравнению с величинами, полученными с помощью приборов. Мы заметили своеобразную взаимосвязь между высотой звука, а также тоном и диапазоном в тестах различных языковых групп. Диапазонное различие предложений с одинаковой мелодикой отмечает 40—60% информаторов. Русские информаторы мелодику одинакового диапазона (русс.—венг.), но различного тона изображали с большим диапазоном. Русскую мелодику более высокого тона определяли с большим диапазоном. 50% венгерских информаторов эту мелодику изображали подобным образом, а 50% — точно, т. е. — более высокого тона. Близкую по тону, но различную по диапазону мелодику в обеих группах изображали одинаковой по диапазону. Диапазон и тон — на основе этого — ограничивают перцепцию друг друга; тон может апперцепироваться в первую очередь у тех информаторов, в артикуляционном базисе которых доминирует более высокий тон.

Вообще можно было наблюдать, что модель мелодики иностранного языка информаторы точнее апперцептировали. Причина этого, может быть, в том, что при звучании предложения на родном языке они не способны так совершенно концентрироваться на одном единственном интонационном средстве, как в случае иностранного языка. Иррелятивные признаки речевых знаков родного языка мы можем легко выделить, а в менее знакомом языке — тяжелее.

О восприятии ударения. Предложения в обоих языках мы выбирали таким образом, чтобы слова, содержащие главное ударение, находились в различных местах предложения, чтобы диктор главное и побочное ударения произвел изменением высоты и силы звука, а также проведением паузы перед словом, предназначенным для выделения. Отметки ударения информаторов на иностранном языке разнообразны, в предложениях родного языка они отмечают ударными меньше слов, считают их более однородными. Для русских впечатление ударения прежде всего означает отрезок времени и высота звука, в данном случае пауза выполняла второстепенную роль (перед выделяемым словом). Для венгров решающая роль принадлежала высоте звука и звуковому напору, а также паузе, предшествующей (а иногда

последующей) предназначенному для главного ударения слову. Например, в то время как венгры в материале родного языка в 20% считали ударным слог, с которого начинается предложение, в большинстве венгерских предложений был с высокой фреквенцией и большой интенсивностью — 280—340 гц, 40—46 дб.

О восприятии темпа. Под темпом речи мы понимаем количество звуков, приходящихся на единицу времени. Предложения наших опытных материалов были различного объективного темпа: русские = 9,6 зв/сек — 12,8 зв/сек, венгерские = 11,5 зв/сек — 14,9 зв/сек.

Информаторам предложения родного языка в основном казались более замедленными, чем предложения иностранного языка. Перцепция русских и венгров различалась в том, что русские информаторы венгерские предложения ощущали скорее средними и быстрыми и только в малой степени медленными, а предложения родного языка в основном средними, в незначительной степени медленными, а одно предложение считали быстро произнесенным.

Венгры материал иностранного языка в первую очередь определили среднего темпа и замедленного и только в малой степени — быстрого темпа. Предложения родного языка главным образом считали ровными и замедленными по темпу (почти в одинаковом процентном отношении) и в незначительной мере — быстрыми. Все это с учетом объективных величин в процентном отношении преобразовалось следующим образом (1. = материал русского языка; 2. = материал венгерского языка).

Таблица 1

Объект. время в зв/сек	Русские информаторы				Венгерские информаторы		
	быстр.	средн.	медлен.		быстр.	средн.	медлен.
1. 12,8 10,4—11,1 9,6	23 — —	54 61 54	23 39 46	%	15 5 15	85 59 77	— 36 8
2. 14,9 13,1—13,7 11,5—11,8	62 42,5 42,5	38 46 46	— 11,5 11,5	%	8 15,5 11,5	92 73 46	— 11,5 42,5

Из таблицы также можно выявить, что информаторы сравнивали друг с другом не темп русских и венгерских предложений, а в каждом случае решали исходя из своего собственного опыта.

О восприятии паузы. Места паузы, определенные объективными измерениями, мы сопоставили с субъективным мнением информаторов. Под паузой мы понимаем «тишину», наступающую между двумя словами, сознательное отсутствие звуковой подачи. Наше общее наблюдение: для венгров пауза является более важным интонационным средством и системным фактором, чем для русских. Обозначение паузы в материале венгерских ин-

форматоров более точное. В материале родного языка ощущение паузы у венгров более единое, чем в материале иностранного языка.

В обеих группах и в материалах обоих языков мы рассмотрели, каковы те «ошибки», которые возникают из-за неощущения паузы, и каковы те ошибки, при которых информаторы ощущают паузы, где на самом деле происходит последовательное звукообразование. Это последнее случается реже: в материале венгерского языка в обеих группах паузу обозначили в 38% в одной и союзной придаточной конструкции. После последнего члена перечисления паузу отмечали (IV. 4. русск.) венгры в 24%, русские в 31%. В русском предложении IV. 3. после слова «дежурной» отметили паузу 16% венгров. Нехватающие отметки паузы мы привели в процентах объективного отрезка паузы и «ошибок»:

Таблица 2

Объективное время в мсек	Русские информаторы %		Венгерские информаторы %	
	материал русск. яз.	материал венг. яз.	материал русск. яз.	материал венг. яз.
50	—	8	—	8
60	38	—	16	—
90—95	100	38	38	31
120	31	—	—	—
165	16	—	—	—
210	—	8	—	—
240	92	—	38	—
450	—	8	—	—

Из таблицы выявляется, что нет прямого соотношения в каждом случае между ощущением паузы и физическим свойством отрезка времени паузы. Структура предложения, а также связь частей предложения в данном случае решающим образом определяют перцепцию паузы. Например, паузу в 60 или 120 мсек не ощущают только 38%, а также 31% (следовательно, в большей мере ощущают); в то же время паузу продолжительностью в 240 мсек (IV/5. русск.) 92% и 38% не почувствовали. Это последнее произошло между двумя такими словами, которые находились между собой в предикативной связи, и это тесное взаимоопределение — главным образом для слушателя на родном языке — препятствовало обнаружению паузы. Венгры, очевидно, в результате иностранного языка лучше могли сконцентрироваться на звуковых средствах. В обеих группах точно определили те паузы, которые соединяют члены предложения.

О перцепции ритма. Среди всех интонационных средств самую трудную задачу для информаторов представляло суждение о ритме. Несмотря на некоторые неопределенности, из полученного материала мы можем выявить несколько особенностей. В перцепционной задаче ритма в некоторой степени мы «дали», что основой впечатления ритма является изменение временных отношений внутри предложения (ускоренное, замедленное, ровное решение).

Таким образом ответы, само собой разумеется, оказываются в связи с восприятием темпа. Мы нашли все-таки, что для русских ритм образует темп (восприятие объективного речевого темпа) и/или же диапазон, а для венгров это в первую очередь форма проявления ударных соотношений. Сопоставив с данными объективных измерений: русские замедленные предложения только в 25% ощутили замедленными; 43% ровными и 33,5% ускоренными. Ускоренное предложение 23–23% ощущали убыстренным и замедленным, а 54% — равномерным). Наши данные мы посмотрели и со стороны объективной величины темпа данных предложений. На основе этого: замедленные предложения быстрого темпа (13,1–13,6 зв/сек) 38–54% считали ускоренным, 15–38% — замедленными. Замедленные и ускоренные предложения среднего темпа (12,3–12,8 зв/сек) 54–54% считали равномерными, 23–8% считали замедленными и 23–38% — ускоренными. Замедленное предложение медленного темпа (11,1 зв/сек) в 28% считали замедленным и 62% равномерным. Перцепционное суждение о ритме, следовательно, скорее отражает объективный темп речи, чем происшедшее в нем изменение. Этот результат похож и в суждении венгерских предложений. Так, замедленные предложения (объективный темп: 10,8; 13,5 зв/сек) 58–62% считали равномерными, 15–33% замедленными и 9–28% ускоренными. Ускоренные предложения (объективный темп: 11,9; 14,7 зв/сек) 77% считали ускоренными, 60% равномерными. Предложения с равномерным ритмом (объективный темп: 12,3 зв/сек) 46% восприняли ускоренными, 23% замедленными и 31% равномерными.

42% венгров замедленные венгерские предложения ощущали замедленными; в 50% равномерными; 25–25% ускоренными предложениями, 33% замедленными и 42% равномерными; предложения с ровным ритмом 50–50% считали замедленными и ровными. При сопоставлении с объективным равномерным средним темпом мы считали, что это в меньшей степени влияло на суждение венгров в обоих языковых материалах. Среди русских предложений 4 замедленных 48% считали равномерными; 39% замедленными и 13% ускоренными. Ускоренное предложение (V/4.) 73% осознали замедленным, 20% равномерными и только 7% ускоренным. Это — в противоположность объективным величинам — результат перцепции, что для венгров ударение имеет значение в какой-либо форме его проявления, что влияет на формирование впечатления ритма. В данном случае (и это можно наблюдать в обоих языковых материалах) возникающий на последнем или предпоследнем слоге предложения рост отрезка времени у венгров вызывает впечатление замедленности.

Для русских при объективном темпе больший диапазон вызывает впечатление ускорения, меньший диапазон — впечатление замедления. Например, одинаково замедленные предложения (12,8 и 13,1 зв/сек с объективным темпом) 38% и 54% ощутили ускоренными: в первом случае интервал был 180 гц,

во втором — 280 гц. Эту же самую тенденцию мы наблюдали в перцепции венгерских предложений: в ритме одинаково ускоренные, в темпе почти совпадающие: предложения (11,9 зв/сек и 12,9 зв/сек) ощущали ускоренными в зависимости от диапазона. Подобное явление мы не наблюдали в тестах венгерских информаторов.

Подведение итогов. Действие различной перцепционной базы венгров и русских также подтвердило, что дистинкция в данном случае является не столько результатом акустических или артикуляционных характеристик, сколько результатом языкового опыта (Flanagan, 1965, 236). В работе мы показали некоторые особенности перцепции интонационных средств на основе тестов русских и венгерских информаторов на русском и венгерском языковом материале. Изображение мелодики в обеих группах положительное. Исключение представляла собой перцепция интонации решаемого вопроса, а также отличающаяся перцепция русской интонации ИК-3. В то время как в венгерском языке ход на предпоследнем слоге обязательно восходящий и на последнем слоге — обязательно нисходящий, то для русской интонации ИК-3 характерно, что место повышения хода может изменяться (понижения может и не произойти). Венгры мелодику безошибочно понимали, а большинство русских осознавали ее ошибочно. Своеобразно соотношение звукового тона и диапазона в перцепции: более высокий тон — русские в первую очередь — ощущали с большим диапазоном; мелодику с различным диапазоном, но почти одинаковым тоном в обеих группах изображали с одинаковым диапазоном. Впечатление ударения для русских в первую очередь означали длительность и высота звука; венгры придавали значение высоте звука и звуковому напору, а также высоте звука и/или паузе, предшествующей слову, которое ударным. Перцепционное исследование темпа подтвердило, что информаторы предложения родного языка слышали более замедленными, чем предложения иностранного языка (см. Wood, 1973, 133). Несмотря на это, в тенденции результатов тестов обеих экспериментальных групп показали одинаковые пропорции с объективными величинами. Ощущение паузы является функцией не только физических особенностей, длительности, но также зависит и от положения слов в предложении. Ошибки возникают отчасти от неотметки паузы, а отчасти от того, что паузу отмечали там, где ее в действительности не было. Относительно перцепции ритма мы установили, что у русских сформировало чувство ритма в основном — какая-то связь темпа с высотой звучка, а у венгров — особенности, создающие ударные соотношения.

Наши наблюдения, относящиеся к перцепции всех интонационных средств, заключаются в том, что информаторы суждения, касающиеся родного языка, написали медленнее, больше они раздумывались об иностранном языке они судили относительно быстро и легко. Количество «ошибок» в иностранном языке (материале) было большее, и это, естественно, работа перцептивной базы родного языка в перцепции иностранного языка.

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UNTERSUCHUNGEN ZUR FUNKTION DER AKUSTISCHEN FAKTOREN DER DISTINKTIVEN PERZEPTION IM DEUTSCHEN

Von

L. VALACZKAI

In der vorliegenden Studie wird die Perzeptionsrelevanz der Frequenz, der Intensität und der Bandbreite von Formanten und temporalen Aspekten der deutschen akzentuierten Vokale auf Grund der distinktiven Oppositionen erörtert. Die Untersuchung erstreckt sich auf die Veränderungstendenzen der Frequenzwerte von F_1 , F_2 , F_3 als akustische Faktoren der distinktiven Oppositionen ferner auf die Reaktionen der Intensität und der Bandbreite von Formanten im Sinne von korrelativen Wertveränderungen auf diese Änderungstendenzen der Formanten. Von den akustischen Grundlagen der distinktiven Perzeption der deutschen Konsonanten wird die Gegenüberstellung der Explosivlaute [b]–[p], [d]–[t], [g]–[k] auf Grund der Stimmbeteiligung mit Hilfe von Oszillogrammen untersucht.

1. Die Vokale

1.1. Die Formanten

1.1.1. Die Rolle der Formanten in der akustischen Perzeption wird in der einschlägigen Literatur unterschiedlich eingeschätzt. Ladefoged und Broadbent (1957, 98–104) z. B. bezweifeln die Identifizierung der Vokale lediglich auf Grund der absoluten — zahlenmäßigen — Frequenzwerte. Otto von Essen (1966, 155) hält einen von zwei Formanten „...für die Erzielung einer vorgegebenen Vokalfarbe“ für „unbedingt notwendig“, „...der andere rundet den Klang nur ab, sättigt ihn...“ Die Realisierung der Formantenbereiche wird auch von Wängler (1976, 20) für eine unerläßliche Bedingung der akustischen Perzeption angesehen. Er spricht zwar die Wichtigkeit der ersten beiden Formanten nicht expressis verbis aus, jedoch teilt er die Frequenzwerte der ersten beiden Formanten mit (op. cit. 21). Eine grundlegende Wichtigkeit wird den ersten beiden Formanten von Magdics (1965, 6) beigemessen. Diese Auffassung setzt sich dann auch in ihrer kontrastiven Studie über den distinktiven Gegensatz der deutschen bzw. der ungarischen Vokale durch (1971, 116–124): die distinktiven Oppositionen der Vokale der beiden Sprachen werden auf Grund der ersten zwei Formanten analysiert. Nach Lindner (1969, 172–173) „...haben nicht alle Formanten gleichen Informationswert. Während die beiden unteren (bei Vorderzungenvokalen mit

Einschluß des dritten) die Informationen über die Art des Vokals beinhalten, tragen der dritte und der vierte wahrscheinlich Informationen über den Produzenten.“ Das unterscheidende Merkmal zwischen den Lauten der dunklen Vokalreihe sieht er vor allem im ersten, bei den Lauten der hellen Vokalreihe dagegen im zweiten Formanten, „...wobei auch noch die Lage des dritten Formanten berücksichtigt werden muß“ (op. cit. 190).

Die experimentellen Untersuchungen wurden in der Phonetischen Abteilung des Institutes für Sprachwissenschaft der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Budapest unter der Leitung von Dr. K. Bolla durchgeführt.

In der folgenden Tabelle werden die durchschnittlichen Frequenzwerte der Formanten der deutschen akzentuierten Vokale zusammengefaßt. Der dritte Formant des langen, geschlossenen u: ließ sich im Spektrogramm nicht feststellen, deshalb kann dieser Wert nicht angegeben werden. Der Sprecher war ein junger Student aus der DDR, näher aus Thüringen.

1.1.2. Veränderungstendenzen der Frequenzwerte der Formanten der Vokale in den distinktiven Oppositionen (Hz)

1.1.2.1. Die Tendenzen von F_1

[i:] 285—[e:] 370—[ɛ:] 520—[a:] 765

[ɪ] 425—[ɛ] 480—[ɑ] 690

[y:] 280—[ø:] 365

[ɥ] 355—[œ] 390

[u:] 280—[o:] 380—[ɑ:] 765

[ʊ] 275—[ɔ] 575

[ɔ] 575—[ɑ] 690

Die jeweiligen Oppositionen sind auf Grund der vertikalen Bewegung der Zunge und in Verbindung damit des Kiefers von oben nach unten zusammengestellt worden. Die Veränderung der Frequenzwerte von F_1 zeigt in diesen Reihen eine eindeutig steigende Tendenz.

Die spektrale Verteilung der Formanten der langen Vokale

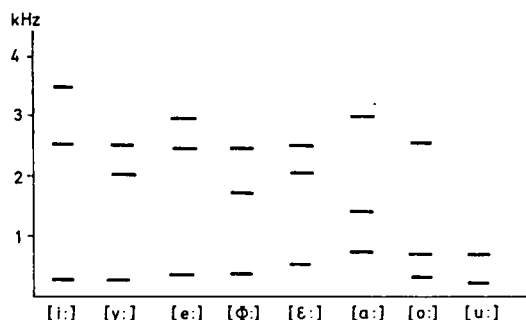


Abb. 1

Durchschnittliche Frequenzwerte der Formanten der akzentuierten Vokale

Laut	F	Frequenzwert	Laut	F	Frequenzwert
[i:]	0	120	[ɛ:]	0	120
	1	285		1	520
	2	2505		2	2095
	3	3400		3	2525
[y:]	0	120	[ɑ:]	0	120
	1	280		1	765
	2	2005		2	1450
	3	2510		3	3055
[ɪ]	0	120	[a]	0	120
	1	425		1	690
	2	2285		2	1320
	3	2915		3	2490
[ʏ]	0	120	[ɔ]	0	120
	1	355		1	375
	2	1710		2	1090
	3	2635		3	2510
[ø:]	0	120	[o:]	0	120
	1	370		1	380
	2	2430		2	760
	3	2920		3	2600
[ø:]	0	120	[ʊ]	0	120
	1	365		1	275
	2	1755		2	1285
	3	2445		3	2720
[ɛ]	0	120	[u:]	0	120
	1	480		1	280
	2	1745		2	750
	3	2880		3	fehlt im Registrat
[œ]	0	120			
	1	390			
	2	1590			
	3	2575			

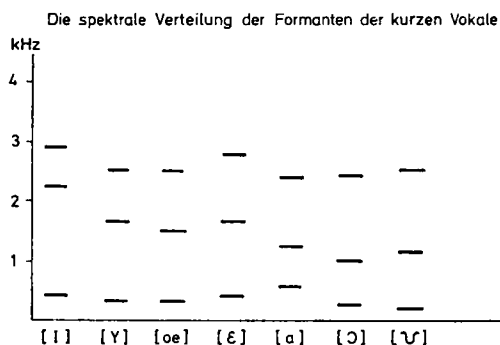


Abb. 2

1.1.2.2. Die Tendenzen von F_2

[i:]	2505—[e:]	2430—[ɛ:]	2095—[a:]	1450
[ɪ]	2285—[ɛ]	1745—[a]	1320	
[y:]	2005—[ø:]	1755		
[ʏ]	1710—[œ]	1590		
[ʊ]	1285—[ɔ]	1090		
[u:]	750—[o:]	760		

Die Tendenz der Änderung der Frequenzwerte von F_2 ist nicht so eindeutig wie die von F_1 : in den ersten 4 Reihen ist sie fallend, in der 5. Reihe steigend.

1.1.2.3. Die Tendenzen von F_3

[i:]	3400—[e:]	2920—[ɛ:]	2525—[a:]	3055
[ɪ]	2915—[ɛ]	2880—[a]	2490	
[y:]	2455—[ø:]	2445		
[ʏ]	2635—[œ]	2575		
[ʊ]	2720—[ɔ]	2515		
[o:]	2600—[a:]	3055		

Die Tendenz der Veränderung der Frequenzwerte ist in den ersten fünf Reihen fallend, in der sechsten Reihe steigend.

1.1.3. Das proportionale Verhältnis der Werte der Formanten

Laut	$F_1 : F_2$	$F_1 : F_3$
[i:]	1 : 8,7	1 : 11,9
[e:]	6,5	7,9
[ɛ:]	4	4,8
[ɪ]	5,3	6,8
[ɛ]	3,6	6
[a]	1,9	3,6
[u:]	2,6	keine Angabe
[o:]	2	6,8
[a:]	1,9	3,9
[ʊ]	4,6	9,4
[ɔ]	2,9	6,6
[y:]	7,1	8,9
[ø:]	4,8	6,6
[ʏ]	4,8	7,4
[œ]	4	6,6

Die Frequenzbereiche des ersten-Formanten von [i:]—[u:] sind gleich, der zahlenmäßige Unterschied der Frequenzwerte von F_1 beträgt im Falle von [i:] und [y:] 5 Hz, im Falle von [e:]—[ø:] bzw. [u:]—[ʊ] ebenfalls. Dieser Unterschied ist so gering, daß er als distinktives Merkmal außer gelassen werden kann. Trotzdem stehen diese Vokale in distinktiven Oppositionen, deren Grundlage man also in der Entfernung und im Unterschied der anderen Formanten sehen kann. Durch diese Feststellung wird die Auffassung bestätigt, die die oppositionelle Grundlage der akustischen Perzeption vor allem in der spektralen Verteilung, im proportionalen Verhältnis der Formanten sieht.

1.1.3. Intensität und Bandbreite der Formanten.

Der Zusammenhang zwischen der Frequenz und der Bandbreite der Formanten wird ebenfalls unterschiedlich beurteilt. Nach Tarnóczy und Vicsi (1975, 341—342) erhöhen sich die Werte der Bandbreite parallel zur Erhöhung der Frequenzwerte. Fujimura und Lindquist (1971, 541) haben dagegen eine solche Regelmäßigkeit nicht gefunden.

Im Vergleich zu unseren früheren Ermittlungen über die distinktive Perzeption im Deutschen (Valaczkai 1983, 376) sind die Untersuchungen auf einem umfangreicheren Korpus vorgenommen worden, um klare Tendenzen der Wertveränderungen feststellen zu können. Diese Untersuchungen haben einerseits die Beobachtungen von Tarnóczy und Vicsi bestätigt: wenn auch nicht zahlenmäßig restlos — das geht übrigens aus der folgenden Tabelle der Werte der Bandbreite hervor —, aber als *Tendenzen* gehören zu den höheren Frequenzwerten der Formanten auch höhere Werte der Bandbreite. Andererseits reagieren zwar die Werte der relativen Amplitude und der Bandbreite schwach auf die erörterten Oppositionen, trotzdem kann ein Zusammenhang zwischen den Veränderungstendenzen der Frequenz, der Intensität und der Bandbreite der Formanten nachgewiesen werden. In den folgenden Tabellen bezeichnen A_1 , A_2 , A_3 die Intensität (A = Amplitude), B_1 , B_2 und B_3 die Bandbreite von F_1 , F_2 und F_3 . Die in der Tabelle verzeichneten Werte der Intensität sind jeweils um 20 dB erhöht worden, um nicht mit negativen Zahlen arbeiten zu müssen.

Intensitätswerte der Formanten (dB)

	[a:]	[o:]	[u:]	[ɛ:]	[e:]	[i:]
A_1	34	45	46	37	39	46
A_2	34	32	29	34	29,5	22
A_3	30	13	nicht belegt	26	21	19

Werte der Bandbreite der Formanten (Hz)

	[a:]	[o:]	[u:]	[ɛ:]	[e:]	[i:]
B ₁	63	54	55	72	59	43
B ₂	85	keine Angabe	88	37	88	68
B ₃	91	66	keine Angabe	91	122	118

Sowohl in der dunklen (im Vergleich zu [a:]) als auch in der hellen Oppositionsreihe (im Vergleich zu [ɛ:]) zeigen die Werte von F₁ eine fallende, die Werte von A₁ dagegen eine eindeutig steigende Tendenz. Die Werte von B₁ ergeben innerhalb der hellen Oppositionsreihe im Vergleich zu [ɛ:] eine fallende Tendenz. Im Falle von B₁ und B₂ konnte keine eindeutige Änderungstendenz der Werte in den untersuchten Oppositionsreihen ermittelt werden. Eins steht allerdings fest: zwischen F₁ einerseits und A₁ andererseits besteht in den Veränderungstendenzen der Werte ein umgekehrtes Verhältnis. In der Änderungstendenz stimmen F₁ und B₁ der hellen Oppositionsreihe überein. In der dunklen Vokalreihe ist die Tendenz von F₂ im Vergleich zu [a:] fallend, in der hellen im Vergleich zu [ɛ:] steigend. Die Tendenz von A₂ ist in den beiden Oppositionsreihen fallend. Der Frequenzwert von F₃ von [o:] ist im Vergleich zu [a:] fallend, innerhalb der hellen Oppositionsreihe dagegen ist die Tendenz im Vergleich zu [ɛ:] steigend. Die Änderungstendenz von A₃ ist in beiden Reihen fallend.

2. Die Konsonanten

2.1. Zur stimmhaft—stimmlosen Opposition der oralen Explosivlaute.

In der Fachliteratur wird von einem weitgehenden Stimmttonverlust auch im absoluten Anlaut der Medien gesprochen. Mit Ausnahme des Wörterbuches der deutschen Aussprache (1969, 67—68) sieht die Literatur darin eine umgangssprachliche Erscheinung, die nach der Ansicht von Wängler (1960, 67) „besonders in Mittel- und Süddeutschland“ festzustellen ist, nach der Formulierung von Siebs (1969, 106) „in Mittel- und Süddeutschland herrscht“, und auch Martens (1965, 135) hat diese Erscheinung in seiner „Phonetik der deutschen Sprache“ als Umgangssprachliches und zwar als *Fehler* registriert, ohne diese seiner Ansicht nach fehlerhafte Erscheinung an einen bestimmten Sprachraum zu binden. In der neueren Literatur gibt Stock (1983, 744) der Ansicht Ausdruck, daß es im Falle der deutschen Explosiven und Frikativen „...angemessener und nützlicher ist, nicht von einer Stimmbeteiligungskorrelation, sondern von einer Spannungskorrelation zu sprechen.“ Der Reduktionsgrad bzw. der Realisierungsgrad des Stimmtons

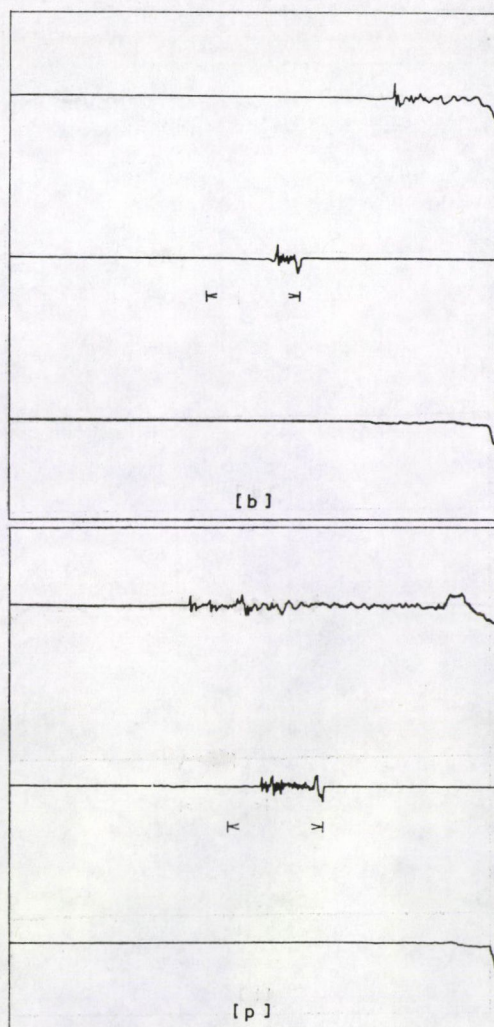


Abb. 3

der ursprünglich stimmhaften Explosivlaute [b], [d], [g] wurde in unserer Versuchsreihe im absoluten Anlaut mit Hilfe der Oszillographie untersucht. Die Ergebnisse wurden dann mit den entsprechenden Registraten der stimmlosen Explosivlauten [p], [t], [k] konfrontiert. Es mußte die Frage beantwortet werden, in welchem Maße der Stimmtton von [b], [d], [g] im absoluten Anlaut reduziert wird, bzw. welche Lautmerkmale dem Perzipienten die Unterscheidung zwischen [b]—[p], [g]—[k], [d]—[t] ermöglichen.

Im Falle der Opposition [g]—[k] zeigt das Glottogramm eine partielle Reduktion des Stimmtons von [g]. Bei [b] und [d] dagegen läßt sich keine Spur von Schwingungen im Glottogramm finden, von einer stimmhaft —

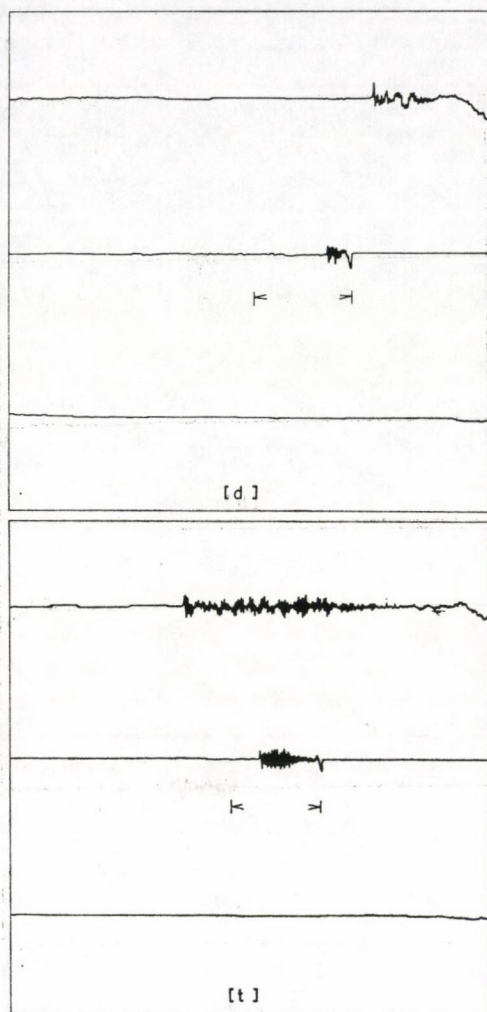


Abb. 4

stimmlosen Opposition kann also in der Realisierung dieser Phoneme im absoluten Anlaut in der Aussprache der muttersprachlichen Versuchsperson nicht die Rede sein. Der distinktive Unterschied zeigt sich für die Perzeption in der Lautdauer, in der Intensität sowie im Dasein bzw. Fehlen des Aspiration. Die untersuchte Sprechrealität hat die normative Auffassung des Wörterbuchs der deutschen Aussprache (1969, 68) über die Bildung der Lenex — vorwiegend ohne Stimmton — bestätigt. Allerdings muß bei solchen Experimenten die bestimmende sprachliche Motivierung der Versuchsperson wie Herkunft, Schulbildung, Beruf usw. berücksichtigt werden, um nicht zu falschen Konklusionen zu kommen.

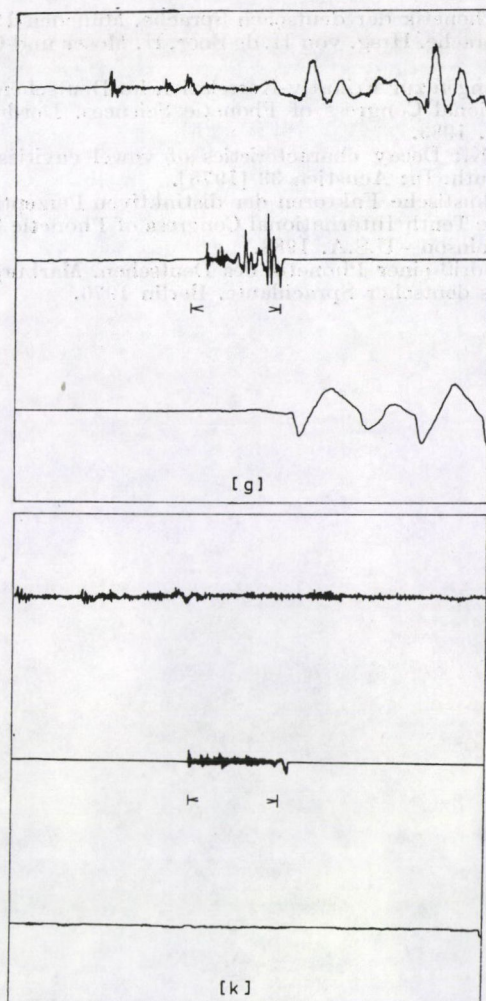


Abb. 5

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DIGLOSSIA IN PERSIAN

By

ÉVA M. JEREMIÁS

1. The differences between the written and the spoken styles have long been known in several languages of the world. These differences roughly correspond to the traditional stylistic differences of the language varieties used in formal situations (official occasions, radio, newspapers etc.) and in informal ones (e.g. every-day communication).¹ Ferguson called the mutually exclusive use of two varieties of a language by a speech community in definite functions a "diglossia situation".²

¹The traditional nomenclature, *classical* (or *literary*) and *colloquial* (or *spoken*) language, though in a broader sense, also refers to this situation. Here are just a few from among the terms used: *noncasual/casual* (C. F. Voegelin: *Casual and noncasual utterances within unified structure*. In: *Style in language* (ed. T. A. Sebeok). New York 1960, 57-68); *public/private* (E. Haugen in: J. B. Pride, J. B. - J. Holmes, (eds): *Sociolinguistics*. Penguin Education 1972, 163); *vernacular/koine* (T. Hill: *Institutional linguistics*. In: *Orbis* 7 [1958], 441-445).

²Neither the description of the phenomenon, nor the technical term owes its merit to Ferguson, though the recent literature has attributed them to him. E.g. J. Macnamara: *Bilingualism in the modern world*. In: *JSI* 23 [1967]. 3. It was first used decades ago to describe the Greek (cf. J. Psichari: *Mercure de France* 207 [1928], 66) and the Arabic (cf. W. Marçais: *La diglossie arabe*. In: *L'enseignement public* 97 [1930], 401-409) language situations. Similarly, Arabic diglossia was described traditionally, as a special case of bilingualism by J. Vilenčik: *Zur Genesis der arabischen Zweisprachigkeit*. In: *OLZ* 38 [1935], 722-777 and by K. V. Ode-Vasileva: *Problema jazyka dramaturgii v sovremennoj arabskoj literature*. In: *Semitskie jazyki*. Moskva 1965, 2nd vol., 2nd part, 661-671. Besides, the terms *polimorphism* (J. Lecerf: *Littérature dialectale et renaissance arabe moderne*. In: *BEO Institut français de Damas* 2 [1932], 179-258, 3 [1933], 47-173) and *bi-dialectism* (U. Weinreich) have been used. See a summary of the question in P. Wexler: *Diglossia, language standardization and purism*. In: *Lingua* 27 [1971], 330-354. The literature on sociolinguistics generally considers *diglossia* as a special case of *bilingualism* in general (Hymes, Gumperz, Stewart) or merely as a synonym of the term "bilingualism". This approach intentionally disregards the consideration whether the language variants used by a speech community in complementary situations are genetically related (dialects) or different languages altogether. This trend is not interested in the genetical relationship of the co-existing codes, but in the functional distribution of the codes (subcodes), that is, the social motivation of the choice of a given (sub)code in a given situation. Their aim is ultimately an analysis of monolingual and bilingual codes on the same theoretical model. Cf. D. Hymes: *Models of the interaction of language and social setting*. In: *JSI* 23 [1967], 8-28; J. Macnamara, *op. cit.*, 3.

It should be noted that in French the term "diglossie" is used in a special sense, to denote two variants differing from each other in their social prestige (la langue officielle/patois). Cf. A. Martinet in U. Weinreich: *Languages in contact*. The Hague 1966, Preface VIII.

By way of introduction let me quote his definition of diglossia: "DIGLOSSIA is a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation."³

The above definition is seemingly valid for all languages with a written tradition dating back to thousands or hundreds of years ago. Left as it was unelucidated by Ferguson's definition, it appears from his examples ("defining languages") what the distinctive feature is marking them off from the rest: there are extensive grammatical differences (a broad structural gap) between their written (formal) and spoken (informal) varieties. Thence it follows — and this fact remains unstressed by Ferguson — that it is actually the degree of these structural differences and not their mere existence that results in a diglossia situation in respect of a given language.

Let us consider, however, what decides whether the differences between the formal and informal varieties of a language are large enough to warrant the term diglossia. Can these differences be measured and if so, how? These questions necessitate a specific linguistic description of the codevariants. It should be noted that the sociolinguistic literature of the recent past, which has been using Ferguson's technical term every now and then, is in want of it.

2. In his paper quoted above Ferguson contrasts diglossia with another wide-spread language situation, where the standard language is opposed to local (geographical) dialects ("standard-with-dialects"). In such language situations one of the local dialects emerges for geographical, political etc. reasons, becomes standardized above the other regional dialects, while in every-day speech (in informal situations) everybody uses their own local dialect. Ferguson sees the main difference between the diglossia situation and this one in the circumstance that the standard which is often similar to the variety of a certain region or social group "is used in ordinary conversation more or less naturally by members of the group and as a superposed variety by others".⁴ He quotes Tehran Persian and Calcutta Bengali as examples.

³ Ch. A. Ferguson: Diglossia. In: Word 15 [1959], 325—340.

⁴ In Ferguson's terminology the superposed variety is called H ("high") and the regional dialects are called L ("low").

3. The statement that in present-day Iran Standard Persian (Tehran educated or formal language) is to be contrasted with the regional dialects should be verified. In order to complete this task we will dwell on the formation of Modern Persian and the Persian literary language respectively.

The first literary records of New Persian have come down to us from the 9th century (poetry), and from the 10th century (prose). A relatively homogeneous, normalized literary (written) language, the so-called Classical Persian had become established in Iran by the 12th century, and showed little change until the 19th century. For centuries this was to be used as a common literary and cultural language in Iran and Transoxiana.

G. Lazard describes the events preceding the emergence of the classical literary language and its process as follows:⁵ By the end of the Sasanian period the official and literary language of the state, Middle Persian or *pārsī* had become markedly distinct from contemporary spoken Persian (*dari*) in Western Iran. In the first centuries of the Arab occupation *dari* spread considerably in the East, beyond the Oxus, and became a common spoken dialect of Iran. *Pārsī* and *dari*, Lazard indicates, are two stylistic levels of the same language, the first being a means of official communication and of written literature, the second used every day. *Dari* gradually ousted the local non-Persian dialects (most of them had become extinct by the 9th c.), while, lacking a written tradition, it incorporated dialectal elements. As a consequence it developed two principal dialects, one in the eastern region (Khorasan), which absorbed chiefly non-Persian Iranian (Parthian) elements, and one in the South-West, linked with Middle Persian in its vocabulary and grammatical features. With the Arab conquest Arabic also gained ground in Iran as the language of culture and science. "During the first two centuries of Islam, the medium for written expression and literature in Iran was provided by two languages of unequal importance, one of them declining and the other in the ascendant — Middle Persian (called Pahlavi) and Arabic." By the 9th century Arabic became the main cultural language in Iran. In the next century the linguistic situation changed: "there were two languages in use all over Iran at the same time on different levels. One of them, *dari*, was used, but only in speech, by the bulk of the population; the other, Arabic, was the medium of religion and the administration, of science and of literature, being written and spoken only by educated people."⁶ During the next two centuries (from the 9th to the 11th) the eastern dialect of *dari*, spoken primarily in Khorasan and Transoxiana, where the use of Arabic was less general and the Sasanian tradition

⁵ G. Lazard: Pahlavi, Pārsi, Dari. Les langues de l'Iran d'après Ibn al-Muqaffa'. In: Iran and Islam (ed. C. E. Bosworth), Edinburgh 1971, 361—391, and the same author, The rise of the New Persian language in The Cambridge History of Iran. Cambridge 1975, vol. 4, chap. 19, 595—632.

⁶ Lazard, op. cit. (1975), 602, 604.

not so strongly rooted, formed the basis of the emerging New Persian literary language. It was the court poets of the Samanids who raised this dialect to literary rank. Getting rid of certain dialectal characteristics and at the same time incorporating Arabic elements⁷ abundantly this language became the literary norm by the early 12th century: this is the Classical Persian literary language.

Lazard's statements are based on the analysis of the early (10 to 11th c.) Persian prose texts.⁸ The manuscripts of these not expressly literary prose pieces (scientific, historical, religious etc. treatises) present a much less uniform language than later texts from the 12th century. They have preserved the shades of the dialects spoken by their authors, unless they had fallen victim to the corrections of later copyists.

By now it has become clear that some of the archaic forms considered as characteristic of the preclassical era reflect the differences of the contemporary spoken dialects, which later disappeared from the homogeneous normalized literary language.⁹ (Later it will be pointed out that quite a few of these colloquialisms can be detected in present-day informal style.)

Besides having a unified literary written language, the population, dispersed on a large area, naturally preserved its local Persian dialects. Centuries later, in the 19th and 20th centuries, they provided the basis of newly formed literary languages: so, for instance, the Persian spoken in Kabul became one of the official languages in Afghanistan, *Kabul Persian* or *dari*; and *Tajik* (Bukhara and Samarqand Persian) became the official language in Soviet Tajikistan. In Iran the language situation is more complex. However, it can be established that the Tehran Persian dialect formed the basis of colloquial (informal) Modern Persian and the modern literary language based on this colloquial style.

In spite of their close genetic relationship these three new languages show important linguistic discrepancies. A number of these differences are ancient, and demonstrably go back to about a thousand years ago.¹⁰ The circumstances of the rise of the respective new literary languages showed divergences as well. The Kabul Persian and Tajik had no independent literary

⁷ From now on we shall examine only the different (local and literary/colloquial) varieties of Persian. The picture should be made full with the observation that especially in the first few centuries Arabic exercised a great effect on Persian. For an analysis of Arabic-Persian diglossia see Zs. Telegdi: *Remarques sur les emprunts arabes en persan*. In: ALH 23 [1973], 53.

⁸ G. Lazard, *La langue des plus anciens monuments de la prose persane*. Paris 1963, Introduction.

⁹ In these archaic features partly the former dialectal differences of today's independent languages (Modern Persian, Kabul Persian, Tajik) and partly the direct preliminaries of today's colloquial (informal) varieties can be discovered. Cf. Lazard, op. cit. [1963], § 340. — This reveals that one and the same occurrence may be qualified as a dialectal or colloquial element, depending on the approach of the survey.

¹⁰ Lazard, op. cit. (1963), 15–17.

tradition and the newly established literary languages were based on the local dialects.¹¹ Persian has had a written (formal) variety since approximately the Safavid era (16th c.), which continued the traditions of the common old literary language, strictly speaking those of the classical prose texts, although it was very markedly different in grammar. It can be regarded as the immediate forerunner of today's Formal Standard Persian. This was the language of the official administration for centuries, while poetry continued to follow the traditional classical language and literary models. So the formal version of Modern Persian (Formal Standard) is a language that was formed centuries ago. The statement, found in most textbooks, that Modern Persian goes back to the Tehran dialect is untrue. Tehran, as a matter of fact, was an unimportant village, say, two centuries ago. Its significance in politics, culture and language development has been notable since only the last century.

The spoken language, the means of everyday communication was very strikingly different from both this formal official style and the language of classical poetry. Since the early 19th century more and more attempts have been made to break away from the classical norms, to revise the official jargon, that is, to narrow the gap between the literary (official) language and the colloquial idiom.¹² This colloquial language is mainly based on the Tehran dialect, this is what tends to be standardized through the mass media today (Informal Modern Persian). There have been attempts to raise this colloquial language to literary rank since the end of the last century (Akhundoff, Dehkhodâ, Ĵamâlzâde). These steps, which were received by a general uproar on the part of the traditionalists can, as a matter of fact, be regarded as successful only since the 30s of this century. (It will be demonstrated that this success is by no means complete.) The most prominent representatives of Modern Persian prose (Hedâyat, Ćubak) radically renewed the language of the literature: the style used by the characters of various social groups is the informal one, which "however colloquial, is neither vulgar, nor dialectal".¹³ These literary pieces, however, are characterized by a strange dualism even today: it is only the language of dialogues that reproduces the colloquial style, the narrative parts represent the formal variety. Present-day journalism also reflects this dual character: the style of the leading articles is the Formal Standard, while that of the literary excerpts, humorous articles, readers' letters etc. is the Informal Standard.

¹¹ This statement is an oversimplification of the real situation. In reality the Kabul Persian literary language has hardly been studied at all, and even in the case of the much better known Tajik the relation of the literary language and the spoken varieties (dialects) is a disputed question.

¹² H. Kamshad: *Modern Persian prose literature*. Cambridge 1966, 9–28.

¹³ J. A. Boyle: *Notes on the colloquial language of Persia*, as recorded in certain recent writings. In: *BSOAS* 14 [1952], 451.

4. Now it will be well worth studying how this fairly complicated linguistic situation is reflected in Western and Iranian grammatical literature: how grammarians treat this diversity of Persian.

Western grammatical literature traditionally describes the prescriptive grammatical rules of "Persian" (that is the formal varieties of classical and modern Persian). Though since the mid-19th century the references to the characteristics of the colloquial idiom have grown in number,¹⁴ and modern Persian literary works reproducing this colloquial-style have been published,¹⁵ Their influence is scarcely to be found in the grammar books as yet. The majority of these grammars treat "Persian" as a monolithic structure up to the latest time with sporadic allusions to the archaisms of the classical/pre-classical language or to the colloquialisms of the modern language.¹⁶ (These references are, as a matter of fact, simple transformational rules to indicate how to "classicize" or "colloquialize" the style.) With this approach the differences between the various periods of the language history, the fact that the Persian language has undergone *significant* changes during the centuries have simply been overlooked. However, these changes remain unnoticed because of the clichés the grammarians take over from one another and because they refer the phenomena not fitting in the formal version of Modern Persian into the category "stylistic variant" (archaic, classical, Arabic, colloquial, substandard, slang etc.).

¹⁴ Mirza Mohammad Ibrahim: Grammar of the Persian language, London 1841; H. L. Fleischer: Grammatik der lebenden persischen Sprache. Leipzig 1875 (a revised version of the previous grammar); F. Rosen: Shumā Farsi hārf mizānid? Leipzig 1890.

¹⁵ W. H. D. Haggard—G. Le Strange: The Vazīr of Lankurān. London 1882; A. Rogers: Persian plays. London 1890. — Here it may be noted that the first Persian grammar (Dieu, Graves, Ignazio, Meninski) made in the 17th century, compiled chiefly for European missionaries and diplomats for practical purposes, have traditionally been classified into the European grammatical literature. These schematic grammars are basically different from the later, 18th to 19th century grammars inasmuch as they have pioneered in preserving a number of phonetical and morphological features of the colloquial style.

¹⁶ As the introduction to Salemann-Shukovski's little book (Persische Grammatik, Berlin 1889) suggests the authors were well aware of these difficulties: „Eine Sprache, deren litterarisches Leben über ein Jahrtausend umfasst, konnte in dem gegebenen engen Rahmen nur in den wichtigsten Grundzügen dargestellt werden; denn wenn die Veränderungen, denen sie in diesem langen Zeitraum unterlegen ist, auf den ersten Blick auch geringfügig erscheinen, so wäre es dennoch die Aufgabe des Grammatikers gewesen, die Eigentümlichkeiten der verschiedenen Perioden in der Darstellung deutlich hervortreten zu lassen. Dieser Aufgabe gerecht zu werden hinderte aber der Mangel an den notwendigen Vorarbeiten, und so mussten wir uns bescheiden, das „Neupersische“ als ein gleichartiges Ganzes vorausgesetzt, nur hie und da auf einzelne Punkte der altertümlichen Sprache Firdausi's, sowie der neuesten Umgangs- und Schriftsprache hinzuweisen.“ — Unfortunately nearly a century later some authors still tackle the same difficulty, when they quote passages from the classical literature and present-day articles as well as dialogues to illustrate some grammatical points. (E.g. B. Alavi—M. Lorenz: Lehrbuch der persischen Sprache. Leipzig 1967.) The only description of Persian which is correct in its approach is Lazard's excellent book (Grammaire du persan contemporain. Paris 1957), which contains a great deal of interesting observations on the stylistic varieties of Modern Persian (littéraire-familière) without giving a systematic summary of them.

The ideas of the Persians themselves of their own language is still more conservative. The norms of the literary language have traditionally been regarded as identical with those set by the classical authors (Neẓâmi, 'Attâr, Sa'di, Hâfeẓ),¹⁷ the school text-books introduce the normative rules of "Persian" in grammatical explanations attached to excerpts from their works. So they describe grammatical forms that have not been used for centuries or have never been used in the spoken language.¹⁸ Lately 20th century literary texts have been included in the text-books. Some of these represent the formal style of Modern Persian (e.g. non-fiction prose by P. N. Khânlari, poetry by Maleko'sh-šo'arâ Bahâr), others the informal/colloquial style of Persian (Hedâyat).¹⁹ It is only in the case of conspicuous incongruities of the classical and the modern language that a distinction is made between the "literary" and the "colloquial" style (*zabân-e goftâr* or *zabân-e moḥâvere*). It can be noted generally that the colloquialisms they notice are the ones they already know from the classical authors.²⁰ However they take no notice of grammatical structure (e.g. the progressive aspect of verbs formed with the auxiliary *dâštan*) that were not used by classical authors.

Naturally they are aware of the fact how significantly *speech* and *writing* differ in their native tongue.²¹ Some people go as far as distinguishing two languages, the written language and the colloquial language. The majority however, resist analysing the latter linguistically or having it in print, for that matter.²² This is all the more striking as the colloquial version has been

¹⁷ M. Minovi: A note on Persian grammar. In: JRAS [1942], 41–47.

¹⁸ So, for instance, the vocative, which has long been extinct from Persian and has been preserved only in a few cases even in the classical language, is illustrated in Persian school-textbook by Sa'di (12th c.) quotations, and figures as a present-day grammatical form.

¹⁹ Fârsi. Sâl-e sevvom-e dabirestân. Tehran 2536. — Interesting conclusions can be drawn from a new version of the same textbook, which was used in the last academic year in Iran and "reformed" in the spirit of the cultural policies of the Khomeini era: the number of extracts from classical authors was raised at the expense of Modern Persian literary texts (e.g. Hedâyat was left out) and there is absolutely no trace of passages representing the colloquial standard. However the changes did not only concern the selection of the texts: the grammatical explanations to join the lessons have been left out nearly entirely or have become meaningless. The majority of the grammatical exercises is constituted like this: "How many Arabic and how many Persian masdars can be found in the first ten lines?" "Give the meanings of the following words!" (The words to be follow are mostly of Arabic origin.)

²⁰ For example, the use of the enclitic pronouns (prep. plus enc. pron.), which is now characteristic of the colloquial style only is illustrated in the above mentioned textbook by examples taken from the classical poetry. (The structure in question was not typical in classical prose and is not in use in today's Formal Standard.)

²¹ P. N. Khânlari; *Zabân o lahje*. In: *Dar bâre-ye zabân-e fârsi*. Tehran 1340, 75–85; 'A. A. Šâdeqi: *Zabân-e fârsi va gunehâ-ye mokhtalef-e ân*. In: *Farhang o zendegi* 2 [1349], 61–66; M. R. Bâṭeni: *Tousif-e sâkhtemân-e dasturi-ye zabân-e fârsi*. Tehran 1348, 11.

²² For the the sake of completeness it should be noted that a group of young linguists in Iran today sees these problems, and are experimenting with a renewal of the traditional linguistics, making use of the results of Western general linguistics. In their work they make a number of interesting observations of the colloquial style, but the

raised to literary rank by excellent writers, it has become a *literary language* in the past few decades. These writers do not merely "enrich" their style with "popular idiom", "dialectal words" or "colloquialisms", as they are often said to, but their language as a whole is Informal Modern Persian, the spoken language, which is essentially different from the formal version.

Here the question arises: what is the reason for the persistent preservation of the classical norms, maintained for centuries practically unchanged? What accounts for the official cultural policy still ignoring the literary rank or standardization of the formal variety?²³ Besides the various objective social and political reasons a subjective factor plays an important role: the Iranians are in a special, uniquely intimate relation with their classical literature. For the people whose mother tongue is Persian these classical works are not unknown (no matter whether they are educated or not), they are often cited and recited pieces, their language is familiar, understandable (even if not in a philological sense, as we understand it), they are not considered old curiosities dating back to bygone times.

Evident as they are for a linguist, the differences between the two languages, Classical and Modern Persian, are far less conspicuous for a layman. Writing, as it were, camouflages the changes that have been taken place in the phonetics, morphology and syntax of the language during the centuries. E.g. orthography, which has remained practically unchanged for almost a thousand years, still distinguishes between the traditionally short and long vowels, but this distinction is realized otherwise in the modern language.²⁴ Morphology and syntax offer similar examples, where too the changes concerned the function of the so-called grammatical morphemes in the first place, and not their form.²⁵

subject of their analyses is predominantly the written language. Šâdeqi's book, which has been intended to be an experiment (Dastur. Sâl-e dovvom. Tehran 2535) distinguishes very closely between *zabân-e neveštâr* and *zabân-e goftâr*. Though his work is dominated by theoretical confusion, it pioneers in the submission of certain colloquialisms. Representatives of the traditional trend have received his book with very sharp criticism. Cf. M. S. Moulâi: Negâhi be dasturzabân-e fârsi, sâl-e dovvom. In: Yaghmâ 30 [2536], 245—251.

²³ The maintenance of formal or classical style as a literary norm is backed by state institutions. Cf. the discussion published in Sokhan (22nd to 24th years) of the question whether today's colloquial style is suitable at all for the creation of literary works, or can merely be used as a means of style to characterize certain figures. E.g. a condition set for a drama competition was the use of "pure" language, one free of colloquialisms (Sokhan 23, 369). Though the dispute has actually been settled, the official stand can be regarded as even more backward today than in the 60s (see n. 19).

²⁴ Since the conquest of Islam the Arabic alphabet extended by four consonant symbols has been used for recording Persian. In the classical language the pairs of vowels were characterized by an opposition of quantity, while in Modern Persian the opposition of quality is typical. In writing their symbolization has remained the same. This traditional way of writing misleads some of the grammarians even today, who distinguish short and long vowels on the ground of writing. Cf. J. Mace: Persian. London 1962.

²⁵ Cf. the change in the function of the verbal prefixes *mi-* and *be-*.

Summarizing what has been said we may arrive at the conclusion that the term "Persian", as it is mostly used in grammar books, covers a range of varieties, historical (Classical²⁶ and Modern), regional (Tehran Persian, Kabul Persian, Tajik etc.) and social (formal and informal) ones, which can be marked off more or less accurately in the different levels of language description. Grammarians, however, do not seem to lay enough emphasis on this fact, and those whose mother tongue is Persian fail to recognize the varieties, as they are able to control the different language codes, by the ability of reading and understanding, without any difficulty in the appropriate situations every day.

5. Before dealing with the main differences of the formal and informal varieties of Modern Persian, attention should be called to two treatises published in *Language*, which have made an attempt to renew the grammatical literature so severely criticized so far. One is associated with our subject by its author,²⁷ and the other by its theme.²⁸

Ferguson examines Persian stress in his paper using the American descriptive technique. The subject of his investigation is formal Persian. Though he refers to the informal variety (colloquial style or speech), he thinks that the differences between the formal and informal styles only concern pronunciation ("certain assimilations and elisions") and to a lesser degree the morphology of verbs ("contracted forms of certain common verbs"). However from the examples quoted and from the conclusions drawn from them it appears that Ferguson's interviewees (native speakers of Tehran Persian) may have misled him, even if unintentionally. A significant proportion of the examples do not, as a matter of fact, represent the formal or informal varieties of Persian, but its archaic stylistic variant.²⁹ There are non-synchronous elements among his examples that are no longer in use in Formal Standard.³⁰ (At the same time the author ignores the *ne-* combinatory variant of the negative verbal prefix). The situation is evident: the interviewees, whose mother tongue was Persian, answered the foreign interviewer in a literary style highly esteemed by them, one imitating the classical language, which has the greatest prestige among Persian speakers.

Hodge discusses the style variants of the standard spoken language of Tehran (i.e. formal and informal standard) based primarily on phonetic

²⁶ The term "classical" may refer to a period in the history of the Persian language (which is an independent language in itself) and a stylistic variant of Modern Persian.

²⁷ Ch. A. Ferguson: Word stress in Persian. In: *Language* 33 [1957], 123–135.

²⁸ C. T. Hodge: Some aspects of Persian style. In: *Language* 33 [1957], 355–369.

²⁹ Ferguson uses the adjective "classical", but he applies it to the language of the classical era, and not the classicistic style of Modern Persian.

³⁰ E.g. the prohibitive verbal prefix *ma-*. It is wrong to state that the verbal prefixes *mi-* and *be-* are used to form tenses (op. cit., 126).

variations, morpheme alternants and morpheme substitution. He aims at defining styles on the choice of elements considered as "free variants" by earlier descriptive linguistics. He describes two sets of phenomena: first he analyses the phonetic variations and the morphology of verbs in the formal/informal styles. Going into further detail he refines the usual formal/informal dichotomy and establishes sub-categories (quotative and normal or deliberate and colloquial). In the other set of phenomena he suggests a range of politeness levels with four degrees (familiar, polite, deferential and royal). This is practically not a new classification, but it does mean the differences of formal/informal styles partly in syntax (concord) and partly in a special field of semantics, the semantics of address. From his examples it appears that in the majority of cases the colloquial (familiar)³¹ style is contrasted with the other three sub-categories in his classification. That is to say — and in this he agrees with Ferguson — he includes phenomena simply classified by others as belong to the informal style or with the latest usage, the Informal Standard,³² in the lowest domain of the stylistic range.

What conclusions can be drawn from these papers whose authors use the technique of descriptive linguistics in their analyses? The most important one is that the distribution of the data, variations and alternatives recorded by the synchronic description into stylistic or social varieties is impossible without a thorough knowledge of the language history, and might lead to superficial, false statements. Another lesson of the articles — and this holds generally for the *ad hoc* remarks passed on colloquialisms in grammar books — is that they quote only easy-to-note facts (lexicon, pronunciation, morphological alternations) without analysing the differences of the two varieties in detail.

6. On the other hand, several signs indicate that there are much greater differences between the varieties of present-day Persian rooted in its language history than suggested above. We would like to present a few examples from the syntax of the informal variety to prove this. The first example will be discussed in detail, with the preliminary developments in history, while the others will only be referred to in brief.

6.1. It is exclusively the informal variety that uses compound tenses formed with the auxiliary *dâštan* ('have'): *dâram minevisam* ('I am in the act

³¹ "Colloquial" here corresponds to the concepts of "slang" or "substandard".

³² M. A. Jazayeri: Observations on stylistic variation in Persian. In: *Actes du X^e Congr. intern. des Ling.* III Bucarest 1970, 447–457; C. MacKinnon: The New Persian preverb *bi*. In: *JAOS* 97 [1977], 8; J. Towhidi: Studies in the phonetics and phonology of Modern Persian. Hamburg 1974, 9–10; E. Provasi: Some notes on Tehrani Persian phonology. In: *Instituto Universitario Orientale, Seminario di Studi Asiatici. Series minor X. Iranica.* Napoli 1979, 257.

of writing') and *dâštam mineveštam* ('I was in the act of writing')³³ to express the progressive aspect of the verb. Such forms are not used in the formal style, and present-day grammars do not usually include them in the paradigms of verbs, but only mention them as a colloquialism.³⁴ To the best of my knowledge they do not turn up at all in Persian school-textbooks.

The first mention of such forms was made in folklore texts collected and published in the last century.³⁵ Later, in the early twentieth century it was recorded in several dialects.³⁶ The linguists who noted this special form suggest that it is very wide-spread in the spoken language, but is not used at all in the literary language.

Does the colloquial language use an innovation or has it preserved an archaic form? The answer to this question can be found in the history of Persian and the Iranian languages.

The structure, that is the expression of a verbal aspect by an auxiliary is not unknown in the earlier stages of the history of Persian or in other Middle or Modern Iranian languages.

In Old Persian, just as in other old Indo-European languages, the categories of the verb (*verbum finitum*), like tense, mood and aspect, are expressed by the combination of stems (*praesens*, *aoristos*, *perfectum*) and the primary and secondary sets of personal suffixes. Besides this old mechanism (*flexio*) a new method came into use to form verbs analytically through the combination of main verb plus auxiliary. Middle Persian, for instance, expresses certain verbal categories, like mood, traditionally with conjugation, and others, like certain Active and Passive forms in the past, analytically through the combination of the Past Participle of the main verb plus the inflected auxiliary.

In Middle Persian various grammatical devices served to express the shades of verbal aspect: auxiliaries (*ēstādan*, *māndan*, *dāštan*³⁷), preverbs (*bē*, *frāz* etc.) and adverbs (e. g. *hamē*). None of these became grammatical, i.e. the only obligatory expression of a verbal aspect, in Middle Persian. In the early 10th to 11th c.) prose texts of New Persian, which do not represent

³³ A. K. Lambton: Persian grammar⁶. Cambridge 1967, 160; I. Dehgân: 'Dâštan' as an auxiliary in contemporary Persian. In: AO 40 [1972], 198–205.

³⁴ E.g. S. Obolensky etc.: Persian basic course. Units 1–12, Washington 1963, 8, 253.

³⁵ V. A. Žukovskij: Osobennoe značenie glagola *dâštan* v persidskom razgovornom jazyke. In: ZVORAO 3 [1888], 376–377.

³⁶ W. Ivanow: Rustic poetry in the dialect of Khorasan. In: JRAS 21 [1925], 253; I. G. Lorimer: Is there a Gabri dialect of Modern Persian. In: JRAS 1928, 287–319; A. Z. Rozenfel'd: Vspomogatel'naja funkcija glagola *dâštan* v sovremennom persidskom jazyke. In: Sovetskoe Vostokovedenie 5 [1948], 305–310.

³⁷ H. S. Nyberg: A manual of Pahlavi. Part II: Glossary. Wiesbaden 1974, 60; W. B. Henning: Das Verbum des Mittelpersischen der Turfanfragmente. In: ZII 9 [1933], 246–247. Henning quotes an Old Persian (6th c. B.C.) example, an occasional phrase, to illustrate the use of the verb *dâštan* in a similar function: *duvarayāmai(y) basta adāri(y)* 'an meinem Hof wurde er gefesselt gehalten'.

a unified literary language yet, the Middle Persian auxiliaries denoting verbal aspect can still be seen in similar function.³⁸ However, they were no longer in use in the literary language, which had been unified by the 12th century. Instead of them the grammaticalisation of the other two devices, the verbal prefix *bi-* and the adverb (*ha*)*mē* had taken place to express verbal aspect. In the classical literary language the use of auxiliaries for verbal aspects has not become general.³⁹

In Modern Persian the verbal system underwent a significant change and this change concerned primarily the function of verbal prefixes: by now they have become mainly an expression of modality. For this reason this old verbal form, used in the earlier stage of Persian as an occasional compound tense, seems to have become grammatical, a constant member of the Modern Persian verbal paradigm to make up for the change in the function of verbal prefixes and to provide an unambiguous or more specific expression of the verbal aspect.⁴⁰

The pattern where a verbal category is expressed with the combination of main verb and auxiliary seems to have been prevalent throughout the changes of the Persian verbal system in the various stages of its history. This tendency is felt in languages closely or distantly related to Persian. In Tajik, for example, which is genetically the closest to Persian and can similarly be regarded as a direct continuation of Middle Persian, the verbal phrases formed with the auxiliary *istodan* are used to express a specific progressive aspect.⁴¹ The similarity in function and etymology between the Tajik *istodan* and Middle Persian *ēstādan* is a matter of course.⁴² Besides this a set of other auxiliaries serve to express other aspectual shades for the main verb in Tajik.⁴³

³⁸ Lazard, op. cit. [1963], & 488, 489.

³⁹ From among the three auxiliaries the use of *ēstādan* can be traced the farthest in classical poetry. Cf. M. T. Bahār: *Sabkšenāsi yā tārikh-e tāṭawwor-e naṣr-e fārsi*². Tehran 1958, vol. I, 306, n. 2; J. Cejpek: Die verbale Periphrase als ein wichtiges Unterscheidungsmerkmal zwischen Neupersisch und Tağikisch. In: AO [1956], 177.

⁴⁰ Dehgān's hypothesis that the innovations of Persian, which cannot be older than the 19th century, have been taken over by other dialects (e.g. *gabri*) seems improbable. Cf. op. cit. 205.

⁴¹ E.g. *navišta istodaam* 'I am writing': past participle of the main verb and the forms of the auxiliary conjugated in the Perfect. Cf. V. S. Rastorgueva: A short sketch of Tajik grammar. Bloomington 1963, 63; I. M. Oranskiy: Die neuiranischen Sprachen der Sowjetunion. The Hague 1975, vol. I, 27–28, 46–47. To a degree here, too, its use depends on style. Oranskiy indicates it is not used at all in Tajik poetry, which is strongly archaic and follows the pattern of Classical Persian.

⁴² O. I. Smirnova: Složnye glagoly s *istodan* i *mondan* v tadžikskom jazyke i ix istoričeskie korni. In: *Sovetskoe Vostokovedenie* 5 (1948), 297–304; A. Z. Rozenfel'd: Nekotorye voprosy tadžikskogo dialektologii. In: *Vestnik Leningradskogo universiteta* 4 [1951], 32–40; V. S. Rastorgueva – A. A. Kerimova: Sistema tadžikskogo glagola. Moskva 1964, 279.

⁴³ E.g. *nišastan* 'to sit', *raftan* 'to go', *omādan* 'to come', *girištan* 'to take'. These verbs seem to have preserved their original meaning even today and they occasionally combine with other verbs. There are verbs of similar function in Kabul Persian: *istādan* 'to stand', *šeštan* 'to sit', *raftan* 'to go'. Here *raftan* has become a grammatical means to express the progressive and iterative aspect. Cf. Abd-ul-Ghafūr Farhādi: *Le persan parlé en Afghanistan*. Paris 1955, 80–81.

A similar phenomenon occurs in Sogdian. In all its three dialects (Manichaean, Christian and Buddhist) the inflected verbal forms were to be supplemented by two affixes, *'skwn* and *'štn* (< Avestic *hišta-*). The first affix can be found in all the three dialects, the second only in certain verbal forms of Buddhist Sogdian dialect (1–2. Sing.) Benveniste makes the good point that the complementary distribution of the verbal affixes with the same function is a result of different styles: the former is an element of the common literary language (*la forme ancienne et littéraire*), the latter that of the spoken language (*la langue parlée*).⁴⁴ Both the precursor (the Avestic form from the first millennium B. C.) and the later development of this colloquial verbal affix *'štn* can be found in today's Yidga and Yagnobi languages.

Finally the question is to be answered whether this colloquialism in Modern Persian represents an innovation or has preserved an old form which is just becoming grammatical. The development of the Persian verbal system and the examples of other Iranian languages suggest the latter. Middle Persian shows that a specific group of verbs owing to their meaning was suitable to express a verbal category whose device of expression had been lost, changed in function, or had not existed at all during the history of the language. The structure of this verb phrase (main verb plus auxiliary) is not new, it is rooted in thousand-year-old tradition, though the present-day techniques of the solution are new and different: main verb plus participle in Tajik, main verb plus verbal affix in some East-Iranian languages and inflected main verb plus inflected auxiliary in Modern Persian.

6.2. In the formal language there are different ways of expressing the indefiniteness of the noun or nominal group (*yek*, *yeki*, *-i*⁴⁵), while there is no direct way of expressing definiteness. On the other hand, a stressed *-e* suffix is used after singular nouns as if it was a definite article in the informal variety.⁴⁶

From among the colloquialisms listed here this is mentioned in only a few grammar books and with very different connotations. Obolensky, whose work is based on the spoken language alone, thinks its use is vulgar and expressly pejorative if applied to people.⁴⁷ Šâdeqi thinks its meaning is not necessarily derogatory. A very important aspect of its use has only been mentioned quite recently: if it is attached to an *ezafe*-construction, the linking

⁴⁴ E. Benveniste: *Le verb stā- comme auxiliaire en iranien*. In: *Acta Orientalia* (København) 30 [1966], 45–49.

⁴⁵ The choice of these, too, has a stylistic significance.

⁴⁶ E.g. *hotelé kojâst?* 'Where's the hotel?'
hotél kojâst? 'Where's (the) hotel?'

Cf. Obolensky, *op. cit.*, 1.9. Bâteni, *op. cit.*, 0.169; Šâdeqi, *op. cit.* (2535), 131.

⁴⁷ "As these forms are too colloquial it is recommended that they be omitted. They are retained here only because they are on the tape." *Op. cit.*, 1.9.

vowel *-e* of the *ezafe* is omitted.⁴⁸ The expression of the definiteness in the way described above is probably not limited to Tehran Persian. (E.g. in the Shiraz Persian dialect there is an *-u* morpheme of similar function.⁴⁹)

6.3. In the use of the enclitic pronominal suffix there are essential differences between the formal and informal styles. In the former its position, function and use is rather limited: it mainly stands as a possessive pronoun.⁵⁰ Sometimes it occurs attached to transitive verbs functioning as a direct or an indirect object. It is much more frequently used in the informal style and its function shows great diversity. Besides the functions just mentioned it may serve as a subject, too. Its position is not strictly defined, it may follow any part of speech.⁵¹ From among the examples enumerated especially its use as a subject or as a suffix attached to a preposition (e.g. *beš* 'to him') are regarded today as colloquial or vulgar.⁵² The use of these pronominal suffixes to be observed only in the informal style also goes back to old tradition. Their use, function and position in preclassical texts (10th–11th c.) are the same as those in today's informal variety. They continued to be used in the classical poetry of later ages, while they were less frequently applied in prose texts.⁵³ It may be added that the morphemic combinatory variants used in the present-day informal style (*-et*, *-eš*) and their precursors in the earliest New Persian texts can also be pointed out.⁵⁴ The use of the 3rd person Sing. form as a subject is also in all probability an archaism, which has preserved a special structure used in Middle Persian, the formation of which was conditioned by the radical alteration of the Persian verbal system.⁵⁵

6.4. In the informal language the use of certain grammatical morphemes⁵⁶ is far from being consistent, and they are often omitted.

⁴⁸ Obolensky, op. cit., 8.253; Šādeqi, op. cit. (2535), 131.

⁴⁹ 'A. A. Šādeqi: Dar bâre-ye ba'zi pasvandhâ-ye nesbat dar fârsi-ye mo'âšer. In: *Jašnname-ye M. P. Gonâbâdi*. Tehran 1354, 247. n. 1.

⁵⁰ E.g. *ketâb-am* 'my book', *ketâb-at* (informal *-et*) 'your book', *ketâb-aš* (informal *-eš*) 'his/her book' etc.

⁵¹ Informal:

goft-eš

goft-eš

didam-eš

Formal:

u goft 'he/she said'

be u goft 'he/she said to him'

urâ didam 'I saw him/her'

⁵² K. A. Arends: *Kratkij sintaksis sovremennogo persidskogo literaturnogo jazyka*. Moskva/Leningrad 1941, 50; Boyle, op. cit., p. 456; Šādeqi, op. cit. (1349), 61–66.

⁵³ Lazard, op. cit. (1963), & 321.

⁵⁴ Lazard, op. cit. (1963), & 282, 289; D. N. MacKenzie: An early Jewish-Persian argument. In: *BSOAS* 31 [1968], 250, 251, 268 (Addendum: 'zyš'); M. Boyce: A reader in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian. Téhéran—Liège 1975, 33: *aziš*.

⁵⁵ The past tense of transitive verbs was formed by a passive perfect participle, and the agent nearby by an encl. pron. suffix. In New Persian the participle, having lost its passive meaning, has become a preterite stem, to which are added personal suffixes.

⁵⁶ Since in the course of the history of language the multiple declension of Old Iranian has disappeared, the syntactic function of the noun is expressed by various grammatical morphemes (suffixes, prepositions etc.).

So, for instance, the objective suffix *-râ* is often done without in the informal style,⁵⁷ however much its application is prescribed in the formal. From the adverbial phrases of place and time (prepositions plus nouns), too, the prepositions are often omitted. This feature is combined with modifications of the word order.⁵⁸

While this phenomenon was regarded as a colloquialism in Persian already in the last century,⁵⁹ only the latest descriptions make mention of the omission of the ezafe vowel *-e* and the consequent change in the stress of the syntagm.⁶⁰ It need not be considered a novelty, as, except for a few cases, there is no indication of the *-e* in the writing.

Some finite verbal forms, like those of the Future and Pluperfect tenses, which are almost never used in the informal style are also to be included here. Changing subordinate clauses into co-ordinate ones through the omission of the conjunctions and the transformations of Subjunctives into Indicatives is also a characteristic of the informal variety.⁶¹

6.5. Finally, the question of word order. The usual, though not obligatory, word order of the formal variety is SOV. In the informal variety the word order seems to be looser, some linguists think it is completely free.⁶² The free word order of the colloquial style is apparently connected with the change or omission of other grammatical elements. The latest research done to explore the informal style suggest that the looser word order, as well as other suprasegmental features (intonation, pitch, stress, loudness etc.) fulfil syntactic functions, taking over the role of the grammatical morphemes used only in the formal/written language.⁶³ ("The written language depends more on regulations, as it is not accompanied by mimic.")

7. The examples above clearly indicate that there are fundamental differences between formal and informal Persian, which are deeply rooted in the history of the language. However, if we examine the character of these

⁵⁷ Lazard, op. cit. (1957), 175; Šâdeqi, op. cit. (1349), 64–65.

⁵⁸ E.g. the sentence *be bâzâr raft* 'he went to the bazar' may have three versions in the informal variety: *bâzâr raft*, *raft bâzâr*, *raft be bâzâr*. There are shades of differences between the meanings of these possible utterances.

⁵⁹ Haggard, op. cit., XXXII; Rosen, op. cit., 20; 'A. A. Šâdeqi: Indépendance syntaxique et éléments indépendants dans la phrase. In: Našriye-ye dâneškade-ye adabiyât-e Tabriz 25 [1352], 334.

⁶⁰ Lazard, op. cit. (1957), & 45; J. A. Boyle: A grammar of Modern Persian. Wiesbaden 1966, 59; Jazayeri, op. cit., 452; M. Mahmudian: Du rôle de la position dans l'indication des rapports syntaxiques. In: La linguistique 9 [1973], 30; Šâdeqi, op. cit. (2535), 131, 144, 155. Professor D. N. MacKenzie kindly called my attention to a similar construction in Kurdish. Cf. Kurdish dialect studies I. London 1961, § 155 (b).

⁶¹ Haggard, op. cit., XXXIV–XXXVI; Rosen, op. cit., 20; Boyle, op. cit. (1966), 42; Šâdeqi, op. cit. (1352), 334.

⁶² Mahmudian, op. cit., 17–19.

⁶³ Towhidi, op. cit.

differences, it may lead us to results different from those of Ferguson. He thinks the grammatical structure of the H ("high") variety is richer, that of the L ("low") variety is poorer (e.g. there are fewer morpheme alternants and categories obligatorily marked by morphemes, the paradigms are more symmetrical etc.). The above examples do not seem to bear this out. The examples in parts 6. 1, 2 and partly 3 expressly show the richness and finer distinctions of the informal language, while the differences between the examples in 6. 4 and 5 do not follow from the poorer or richer character of the grammatical structures, but from the differences of the media, i.e. those of writing and speech. For this very reason the last two might be regarded as universal features of formal and informal styles. They are not specifically true for Persian alone.

The examples may teach us other lessons as well: the richness of the informal language is not necessarily the consequence of innovations. In nearly all cases the present-day phenomena discussed here have their roots in the history of the language. (If not, the shortcomings of research may just as well be blamed. This is bound to be so, as the research of language history mainly relies on written records, which reflect mostly the formal style.) The informal language has preserved archaic forms, it provides the possibility of several alternative expressions of one and the same category. However, the possibility, which may have lived through centuries, becomes grammatical only at a definite stage of the language history, perhaps motivated by other simultaneous syntactic changes and becomes a generally obligatory means of expression to substitute for an extinct or changed category.

Going back finally to Ferguson's definition: if we accept this, the Persian language situation is to be regarded as a striking example of diglossia. The data provided by the history indicate that the existence of this situation goes back to the earliest historical times, generally hand in hand with the establishment of a unified literary language. What is unique with Persian is that the classical language itself, or the classical language as a norm, has remained "living" and has not become obsolete or a "delicacy" to be enjoyed by a very few. On the other hand, the differences between the varieties show that Persian is specific also in the respect that the spoken language cannot be regarded as a version of the formal style "transferred" into speech. The grammatical differences between the two varieties tend to be as marked as those between two independent languages. These diversities are very likely to become even more conspicuous with the informal variety becoming standardized.

At the same time the aspects discussed above show that for Persian, and also generally, the language situation is much more complex. Though Ferguson emphasized a very important aspect of synchronic analyses, he oversimplified the actual situation, which is much more complicated than that described by him, even in his own examples. (For the same reason his

predictions concerning the changes to take place in the defining languages seems to be unfounded.)

This brief account of Persian shows that throughout the history of the language the relationship between the spoken and literary forms has been in constant flux, occasioned by external and internal circumstances, and that this has generally been noted by grammarians only after a delay.

Another important conclusion to be drawn from the Persian example: the historical and sociolinguistical investigation of the code variants of a living language, which provides the observer abundantly with data, and their demarcation gives essential help with the analysis of historical records, and generally with the examination of the mechanism of change in a language. The differences between formal and informal Persian warn us that a mechanical comparison of the historical records at our disposal may lead to false results, because it takes no notice of which variety or layer of the contemporary language these records belonged to.

In conclusion another remark should be made: in the course of the discussion we intentionally mentioned only the formal and informal varieties, at times alternating these terms with "colloquial/spoken language or style" and "literary language or style", that is to say we made no use of more distinctive classifications, which incidentally Ferguson and Hodge did use in their articles. Our experience suggests (though a much more detailed analysis would have been required to prove it) that there are no clear-cut stylistic varieties. The various sections of the style-range cannot be clearly marked off, there are overlappings and mutual applications. (E.g. the choice of a lexical item, its pronunciation and grammatical structure do not necessarily belong to the same variety.) Certain trends can, of course, be observed, e.g. the tendency that the informal variety, especially the vulgar language, is readier to incorporate elements from other dialects and rural speech, while the formal variety, especially its version imitating the classical style, is readier to preserve non-synchronous elements. A classification reaching to the finest details is necessary, but it must constantly be borne in mind that it always narrows down the circle of possible combinations, makes the categories rigid in comparison with real usage, and does not reflect the richness of a language with the abundance of choices.

CHRONICA

† LÁSZLÓ ORSZÁGH
(1907-1984)

By

T. MAGAY

Professor L. Országh, last Grand Old Man of Anglo-Hungarian philology, died after a long, incurable illness on January 27 at the age of 77.

It is by no means accidental that Professor Országh's scholarly activities, indeed his life work, should be classified under the term 'philology', 'no longer in scholarly use', 'an older name for linguistics' as labelled outdated by most of the dictionaries of our days. It was he who insisted on being called a philologist, and vigorously refused to be restricted to the status of 'linguist' or even 'lexicographer'. Neither was it an eccentric claim; for, he was aware of the truth expressed by Samuel Johnson in the Preface of his famous dictionary (1755): "I am not yet so lost in lexicography, as to forget that words are the daughters of earth, and that things are the sons of heaven." Indeed, he was not lost to any *one* branch of learning, his scholarly interests covered a wide range of literary and linguistic studies.

He was first and foremost a teacher, and that — in the true sense of the word — he remained for a lifetime. Graduating from Péter Pázmány University and a member of Eötvös College, Budapest, he took up teaching at a grammar school (Ferenc Rákóczi Grammar School, Budapest), and was soon elected a tutor at Eötvös College. In 1947 he was appointed professor and head of the Department of English at the University of Debrecen. With a few years' interruption — when the Department was closed down to be restarted in 1957 — he held his chair up to 1969, when he retired. But never for a moment did he lose touch with that seat of learning which he made a centre of English and American studies within a matter of years. He constantly guided and encouraged students and teachers of English in their teaching or scholarly career, not to mention the periodical *Hungarian Studies in English* based on the research work carried on at the English Department of the University of Debrecen, launched and for ten years edited by Professor Országh.

His academic career was in some way or other always linked up with teaching language and literature. It was as early as 1942 that he published his first important work on the origins of the English novel (*Az angol regény eredete*), and even earlier (between 1939 and 1942) a graded series of an English course was written for Hungarian secondary schools (*Angol nyelvkönyv I-IV. rész*) and an English descriptive grammar with Sándor Kónya as co-author (*Angol nyelvtan*. Budapest, Franklin 1944) revised and enlarged in 1957 which ran into 8 editions (*Rendszeres angol nyelvtan*. Budapest, Terra 1982⁸). In his language teaching books and dictionaries it was Országh who — among the first in the world — introduced the phonetic alphabet of the International Phonetic Association, used by now the world over in language courses as well as in dictionaries.

It was in the interests of teaching English and American literature that he wrote — side by side with some famous essays such as the one on Shakespeare in 1944 — a textbook on the history of American literature, the first ever to be written by a Hungarian author (*Az amerikai irodalom története*. Budapest, Gondolat 1967). This was followed by an introduction to American studies (*Bevezetés az amerikanisztikába*. Budapest, Tankönyvkiadó 1972), a standard work on the subject. For, from the very beginning of his academic career his literary and linguistic interests had a double focus: English and American. In fact, it was he who introduced American studies as an academic subject into Hungary. And it was through his personal contacts and scholarly authority that the Department of Uralic and Altaic Studies at Indiana University has had Teaching Assistants from Hungary ever since its inception. The ever widening possibilities for young Hungarian scholars engaged in English and American studies eventually led to the founding of an endowed chair of Hungarian studies at Indiana University, Bloomington.

The springs of Országh's lexicographic activity also go back to his teaching English in a grammar school (1932 to 1943), when he began to feel a growing dissatisfaction with the existing dictionaries. Thus, making a virtue of necessity he compiled his first dictionary (*Angol—magyar kézikönyvtár* [A Concise English—Hungarian Dictionary]. Budapest, Franklin 1948) which marked a new era of Anglo-Hungarian — and, indeed, general — lexicography. Although he had some previous experience in compiling word-lists for his language courses, he had to start from scratch by recording the facts of contemporary spoken and written English on thousands of slips from the best of sources and a wide reading into the widest range of texts from literature to science. It was this work out of which grew the dictionary "trilogy", i.e. the pocket, concise and comprehensive dictionaries of the English and Hungarian languages.

The most noticeable qualitative change when compared with its predecessors — notably Yolland's English-Hungarian dictionary which counted as a standard work for 40 years — or even other contemporary bilingual dictionaries was the adequate selection of vocabulary. Critics of new dictionaries usually pick out words *not* included in the dictionary under review. For, they do not always seem to realize what a hard — if not impossible — task it is to select for inclusion the "most important" or "most frequent" (say) 40,000 English words out of a word-stock of nearly one million. The reason why Országh's selection proved a success was that apart from choosing up-to-date dictionary-sources to rely on he widely read into present-day English, and recorded words in actual use from all walks of life, from all layers and registers of both spoken and written English. And that he did in the right proportion: he excluded hosts of obsolete and far-fetched words as well as derivatives of little frequency. He filled the space so gained by new words and compounds giving a coverage of a number of fields of knowledge such as electronics or engineering. In his selection, however, Országh was careful not to discard literary words, for, he had the widest possible audience in mind. In other words, he was user-oriented in all aspects of lexicography.

Another feature which distinguished his dictionaries from those of his predecessors, and from any other contemporary bilingual dictionary, was the adequate choice of translation equivalents. Based on a sound policy of compiling and editing, the climax of his achievement in bilingual lexicography was

marked by the publication of his big English-Hungarian dictionary (*Angol-magyar nagyszótár* [A Comprehensive English-Hungarian Dictionary]. Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó 1960; revised in 1976), which contained more than 100,000 headwords and over 150,000 phrases, idiomatic expressions, phrasal verbs and sample sentences. Through careful labelling of the various meanings and uses of the entry words, it was the ample inclusion of illustrative examples, sentences and multi-word lexical units that helped the user find what he really needed: words and their equivalents as they actually appear and function in the target language. He also realized the difference between the two-way character of bilingual dictionary-making: the different treatment required in matching words of a foreign to native and a native to foreign dictionary, respectively. He was decades ahead of his time because he fully well knew the difference between what is called in today's lexicographic jargon: dictionary of comprehension and dictionary of production. In its counterpart, the Hungarian-English dictionary (*Magyar-angol szótár*. Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó 1953; revised and enlarged in 1963) Országh went into depths in differentiating the various stylistic values and registers by a fair selection of usage labels and sample sentences to help the Hungarian user find the proper equivalents when translating from his native language into English.

Although he made his name in Hungary as a bilingual lexicographer ("Országh" means "English dictionary"), he gained distinction as the editor-in-chief of the seven-volume Dictionary of the Hungarian Language (*A Magyar Nyelv Értelmező Szótára*. Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó 1959–1962). On the records of the history of world lexicography there are rather few lexicographers — if any — who have been so successful both in bilingual and monolingual dictionary-making simultaneously.

By writing on the theoretical aspects of lexicography he became internationally known. Three of the most important works from this field written or edited by him were *Problems and Principles of the New Dictionary of the Hungarian Language* (*Acta Linguistica* 10 [1960], 211–273), *A szótárírás elmélete és gyakorlata a magyar nyelv értelmező szótárában* [Theoretical and practical aspects of monolingual lexicography in editing the Dictionary of the Hungarian Language] (ed., *Nyelvtudományi Értekezések* No. 36, Budapest Akadémiai Kiadó 1962), and *Szótártani tanulmányok* [Studies in Lexicography] (ed., Budapest, Tankönyvkiadó 1966).

He took a great interest also in the origin and history of Hungarian words borrowed from or transmitted by English. His last major opus in Hungarian lexicology was a monograph on the English elements in the Hungarian vocabulary (*Angol eredetű elemek a magyar szókészletben*. *Nyelvtudományi Értekezések* No. 93, Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó 1977). He set himself no lesser task than the survey and analysis of over 1,000 words of English origin that entered the Hungarian language between 1612 and 1975. And this time the lexicographer Országh presented the results of his researches in a non-dictionary form, by approaching the question of loanwords and cultural borrowings historically and in the most readable manner, filling a long-felt gap in the history of the Magyar language and vocabulary.

For his outstanding contribution to Anglo-Hungarian lexicography he was awarded the gold medal of the Institute of Linguists, London, in 1970. And in 1978 the honour of the Commander of the Order of the British Empire, the C.B.E. was conferred on him by the British Government.

Several English and American dictionaries had him on their editorial advisory committees or consulted him on diverse lexicographical issues, the most prestigious of them being the Oxford English Dictionary and Barnhart's Dictionaries of New English.

The Executive Board of the European Association for Lexicography, established in September 1983, nominated László Országh as the first honorary member of this new Association (the EURALEX), first among distinguished lexicographers from all over the world. This decision was made a few days before his death.

CRITICA

Hugo Baetens Beardsmore: Bilingualism: Basic Principles. Multilingual Matters, Tieto Ltd, Cleverdon (England) 1983, 172 pp.

Hugo Baetens Beardsmore, Professor an der „Vrije Universiteit“ Brüssel, veröffentlichte kurz nach seiner Studiensammlung über Elemente der Zweisprachigkeitstheorie (*Elements of Bilingual Theory*, Brüssel 1982) eine allgemeine Zusammenfassung der neuesten Ergebnisse der Bilingualismusforschung. Das vorliegende Buch umfaßt die sogenannten „Grundprinzipien“ (engl. ‘Basic Principles’) der Zweisprachigkeit und stellt eine konkrete Einführung in das Studium des Bilingualismus dar. Es wurde anhand der Vorlesungen des Autors an der Universität in Brüssel verfaßt und gilt als grundlegendes Handbuch und Nachschlagewerk für die Studenten, die sich mit den Problemen der Zweisprachigkeitsforschung beschäftigen wollen. Das Büchlein richtet sich aber nicht nur an sie, sondern auch an alle Forscher des Bilingualismus.

In unserer modernen Zeit werden mehr Menschen mit der Frage der Zweisprachigkeit konfrontiert, während die verschiedenen Ansichten und ständig wechselnden Ratschläge der Experten auf diesem Forschungsgebiet oft zu Mißverständnissen und offensichtlichen Widersprüchen führten und häufig noch führen. „Bilingualism: Basic Principles“ ist entstanden, um den Interessierten eine klare Einführung, einen „Guide“, in die oft verwickelten Probleme, die sich bei Menschen, die mehr als eine

Sprache beherrschen, ergeben. Das Buch ist bestrebt, Klarheit und eine allgemeine Übersicht in der Bilingualismusforschung zu schaffen, falsche Hypothesen über die Zweisprachigkeit von Forschern und Menschen, die meistens nur eine Sprache beherrschen, zu widerrufen. Der Verfasser stellt sich schon in der Einleitung diese Zielsetzung. Er ist sich dessen bewußt, daß bisher schon zahlreiche Einführungen in die Zweisprachigkeitsforschung erschienen sind — alle mit dem Ziel Klarheit in diesem Bereich der Linguistik zu schaffen —, es aber kaum gelungen ist, dieses Ziel zu erreichen. Baetens Beardsmore beruft sich dabei auf die ganz Großen der Bilingualismusforschung (Weinreich, Haugen, Fishman, Lambert, Gumperz, Hornby) und versucht, auf den Spuren dieser seiner Vorgänger zu schreiten.

Im ersten Kapitel („Definitions and Typologies“) bringt er eine Zusammenfassung der Definitionen der Zweisprachigkeit und derer Typologie. Er geht dabei wie die meisten Bilingualisten von der klassischen Definition von L. Bloomfield (1935) aus, für den der Bilingualismus „native-like control of two languages“, d. h. die muttersprachliche Kontrolle (Beherrschung) von zwei Sprachen bedeutet. In diesem Kapitel setzt er sich mit den verschiedenen Formen der Zweisprachigkeit auseinander: kollektive (gesellschaftliche) und individuelle, horizontale, vertikale und diagonale, natürliche und künstliche, rezeptive und passive, koordinierte und zusammengesetzte Zweisprachigkeit, Halbsprachigkeit und doppelte Halb-

sprachigkeit, Diglossie usw. Dabei zieht er nicht nur die linguistischen Aspekte des doppelten Sprachgebrauchs in Betracht, sondern bezieht auch die soziologischen Fragen, den Bilingualismus und die „Di-Ethnia“ mit ein.

Kapitel 2 ist der Interferenz und dem Kodewechsel (Code-switching) gewidmet. Das Phänomen der Interferenz, d. h. die Normabweichungen von einer Sprache auf Einfluß der anderen, ist insbesondere in den 70er Jahren von namhaften Linguisten (unter ihnen auch der Ungar János Juhász) geklärt worden und gilt nicht mehr nur als Problem der theoretischen Linguistik, sondern hat seitdem Einzug in die Fremdsprachendialektik gefunden. In diesem Teil der Arbeit ist eine grundlegende Unzulänglichkeit festzustellen: Baetens Beardsmore vermißt es, das Verhältnis von Transferenz und Interferenz zu klären. Die Frage der Transferenz fehlt total. Hier sei zu erwähnen, daß als Transferenz die Übernahme von Elementen, Merkmalen und Regeln aus einer anderen Sprache bezeichnet wird. Transferenz hat sowohl linguistische als auch soziolinguistische Ursachen. Wichtige Faktoren sind z. B. Phonemlücken und das relative Prestige einer Sprache (phonologische Transferenz), unterschiedliche Relationsregeln, Morphemfunktionsänderung, größere Explizität (syntaktische T.), lexikalische Unzulänglichkeit, niedrige Frequenz des entsprechenden Wortes der Empfängersprache, Synonymbedürfnis, komplexe Syntax der Empfängersprache (lexikalische Transferenz).

Gleichzeitig fehlt bei Baetens Beardsmore die Problematik der Integration, worunter man die Eingliederung von lexikalischen Transfers in das phonologische, morphologische, graphematische und semantische System der Empfängersprache versteht.

Kapitel 3 befaßt sich mit der Messung (engl. 'Measurement') des Bilingualismus. Inwiefern ist die Zweisprachigkeit meßbar? Der Begriff der Messung des Bilingualismus wird seit der Konferenz von 1969 in

Toronto (Kanada) über Beschreibung und Messung der Zweisprachigkeit gebraucht (L. G. Kelly: *Description and Measurement of Bilingualism*, 1969). Bei der Messung des Bilingualismus werden verschiedene Stufen und Grade (engl. 'degree') der Zweisprachigkeit festgestellt. Anhand von soziolinguistischen Tests werden Lesen, Schreiben, Verstehen und Sprechen bei Zweisprachigen gemessen. Dabei werden folgende Kriterien berücksichtigt: Lesewortschatz, Aussprachefehler, grammatistische Fehler, syntaktische und lexikalische Interferenz von der zweiten Sprache, phonetische, prosodische und Intonationsfehler, Wortbildung, semantische Breite.

Kapitel 4 enthält die theoretischen Ansichten des Autors zu Fragen der Zweisprachigkeit. Es ist eine theoretische Zusammenfassung der verschiedenen Anschauungen, Hypothesen in der Bilingualismusforschung. Gleichzeitig zeigt der Verfasser einen möglichen Weg zur Anwendung der Erkenntnisse der Zweisprachigkeitsforschung bei Einsprachigen, d. h. im Fremdsprachenunterricht, dessen höchste Stufe und ideales Ziel die sogenannte „künstliche Zweisprachigkeit“ ist. Baetens Beardsmore baut seine Bilingualismustheorie auf der Theorie der kommunikativen Kompetenz auf.

Das letzte Kapitel beschäftigt sich mit den Problemen des zweisprachigen Sprechers (engl. 'bilingual speaker'). Dabei konzentriert sich der Autor auf den individuellen Bilingualismus, vor allem auf die Frage der frühen Zweisprachigkeit. Es werden hier insbesondere psycholinguistische Aspekte berücksichtigt. Im Mittelpunkt der Analyse von Baetens Beardsmore steht die Entwicklung des Bilingualismus im Individuum. Es werden aber auch die sozialen Bedingungen, die sprachpädagogischen Ansichten in Betracht gezogen.

Zusammenfassend ist diese zusammenfassende Synthese, Monographie über die Grundprinzipien der Zweisprachigkeit als wertvoller Beitrag zur Herausbildung einer bleibenden, einheitlichen Theorie der Bi-

lingualismusforschung zu bezeichnen. Sie ist als erstes Produkt einer neuen Reihe über Fragen der Mehrsprachigkeit des englischen Verlags „Multilingual Matters, Tieto LTD“ unter der Edition von Derrick Sharp erschienen. Dieser Verlag zeichnet auch als Herausgeber einer neuen Zeitschrift für mehrsprachige und mehrkulturelle Entwicklung, „Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development“ (Editor D. Sharp).

N. Bradean-Ebinger

Hugo Baetens Beardsmore (ed.): *Elements of Bilingual Theory*. Study Series of the „Vrije Universiteit Brussel“, Nieuwe Serie nr 6, Brüssel 1983, 172 pp.

Professor Hugo Baetens Beardsmore von der Universität Brüssel, einer der bekanntesten Theoretiker der modernen Zweisprachigkeitsforschung, zeichnet als Herausgeber (Editor) der vorliegenden Studiensammlung über Elemente der Zweisprachigkeitstheorie. In der Einleitung des Buches gibt er einen Überblick über die letzten Forschungsergebnisse in diesem Bereich der Linguistik. Dabei stützt er sich vor allem auf die neuen Erkenntnisse der interdisziplinären Erforschung der Zweisprachigkeit, auf die sozio-, psycho- und kontaktlinguistischen, sowie sprachpädagogischen Aspekte des Bilingualismus. All diese Aspekte bilden den Rahmen, die konkreten Elemente der modernen Zweisprachigkeitsforschung.

Als Autoren der verschiedenen Studien dieser Sammlung zeichnen bekannte Sozio-, Psycho-, Neuro- und Kontaktlinguisten aus der ganzen Welt und aus zahlreichen Sprachgebieten, wo der Bilingualismus zu den zentralen Themen der Linguistik und des Sprachunterrichts gehört.

Charles J. Dodson von dem University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, einer der Begründer der bilingualen Methode und der Theorie der Medium- und Sendungsorientierten Kommunikation im Sprachunterricht (in den 60-er Jahren), lieferte

einen Beitrag über seine theoretischen und praktischen Ansichten von der bilingualen Entwicklung und dem zweisprachigen Unterricht. Darin setzte er sich mit den Auswirkungen des frühen bilingualen Unterrichts auseinander, in dem die theoretischen Implikationen auf einem soliden Material von praktischer Untersuchung beruhen. Er zeigte wie neutral das bilinguale Element des gemischten Sprachunterrichts bei Kindern in der kognitiven Funktionierung ist, und daß für die Mehrheit der Kinder das doppelte Sprachelement weder positive noch negative Effekte aufweist. Solche neutrale Konsequenzen sind das Ergebnis einer wohl organisierten und mit Vorsicht geführten zweisprachigen Unterrichtsstrategie, die in verschiedenen Teilen der Welt mit mehrsprachiger Bevölkerung in zahlreichen Sprachkombinationen angewandt präsentiert worden ist.

Als neue Idee bringt Dodson eine Bezeichnung, d. h. er führt den Begriff der „bevorteiligten (präferierten) Sprache“ (‘preferred language’) statt „dominanter, Mutter- oder Erstsprache“ ein, der seiner Meinung nach nuancierter erscheint, da diese Benennung auch solche Faktoren, wie z. B. die historischen Bedingungen und Veränderung in einem zwei- oder mehrsprachigen Gebiet in Betracht zieht. Er bringt dazu konkrete Beispiele aus seinen Untersuchungen in Wales und Finnland.

Am Ende seiner Studie gibt er folgende frische statistische Daten aus dem Jahre 1980 an: bei der Analyse von 58 europäischen Minderheitsprachen stellte sich heraus, daß davon nur 23 (39%) eine gewisse offizielle Anerkennung besitzen, 33 Sprachen (56%) werden in der Schule gelehrt, aber der Unterricht ist in nur 14 Fällen (24%) zufriedenstellend, während nur 6 Sprachen (10%) an der Universität zugelassen sind.

Der nächste Beitrag stammt von Josiane F. Hamers, Professor für Psycholinguistik im Internationalen Zentrum für Zweisprachigkeitsforschung an der Universität Laval in Quebec (Kanada), die uns einen Überblick über die psycho-

logischen Aspekte der Entwicklung der Bilingualität gibt. Dabei geht sie von der Tatsache aus, daß es trotz zahlreicher Versuche (über 20) bis heute noch keine allgemein akzeptierte Definition der Zweisprachigkeit gibt. In ihrem Aufsatz konzentriert sie sich vor allem auf den individuellen Bilingualismus und stellt die verschiedenen Formen der Zweisprachigkeit vor, indem sie sich in erster Linie auf die Einteilung von William Lambert stützt, der durch psycholinguistische Untersuchungen zwei Hauptformen des individuellen Bilingualismus feststellte: zusammengesetzte (compound), wo die zweisprachigen Personen die beiden Sprachen gemeinsam und gleichzeitig gebrauchen, und koordinierte (coordinate) Zweisprachigkeit, wo die Zweisprachigen die Sprachen auseinanderhalten, getrennt und situativ verwenden.

Elsa Lattey von der Universität Tübingen beschäftigt sich in ihrer Studie mit den individuellen und sozialen Aspekten des Bilingualismus. Sie analysiert das Verhältnis zwischen monoglotten und bilinguaalem Sprachverhalten, den Kodewechsel (code-switching), die Interferenzen und Transferenzen, sowie die Sprachmischung, die dabei auftauchen.

Peter Hans Nelde, der bekannte Kontaktlinguist und Direktor der Forschungsstelle für Mehrsprachigkeit an der Universität Brüssel, setzt sich in seinem deutschsprachigen Beitrag, — dem einzigen nicht englischen —, mit den Beziehungen von Kontaktlinguistik und Minderheitsforschung anhand des Beispiels der deutschen Nationalität (Minorität) in Ostbelgien auseinander. Er geht davon aus, daß sich nach seiner Ansicht in den letzten fünf Jahren in der Linguistik eine deutliche Verschiebung bemerkbar gemacht und schließlich durchgesetzt hat. Die Illusion von der in sich völlig homogenen Sprachgemeinschaft Chomskyscher Prägung hat einer die sozialen, psychologischen und individuellen Komponenten berücksichtigenden Betrachtungsweise Platz gemacht, wodurch rein formalistische,

beschreibungstechnische Gesichtspunkte zugunsten einer auch diachronische, soziokulturelle, politische, d. h. außersprachliche Faktoren einschließenden Sprachwissenschaft zeitweilig in den Hintergrund gedrängt wurden. Laut Nelde sollten konsequenterweise mehrdimensionale Strategien die häufig eindimensionale Systemlinguistik ersetzen. Dazu zählt er die Varianzlinguistik und damit auch die Sprachkontaktforschung oder Kontaktlinguistik.

Nelde präsentiert im folgenden die sprachliche Situation der Deutschen in Belgien (100.000 an der Zahl) und analysiert die verschiedenen Formen der Transferenz und Interferenz, sowie die Normabweichungen auf morphosyntaktischer, semantisch-stilistischer und lexikalischer Ebene. Es sind dies Elemente einer „kommunikativen Norm“ (E. Haugen) die Nelde als „Kontaktuniversalien“ (contact universals) bezeichnet.

Roger W. Shuy, Professor für Soziolinguistik an der Georgetown University in Washington, behandelt in seiner Studie eine soziolinguistische Untersuchung der Zweisprachigkeit in der Schulklasse.

Yvan Lebrun von der Universität Brüssel präsentiert einen neurolinguistischen Aufsatz über die Beziehung von Bilingualismus und Gehirn (brain), der auf klinischen Untersuchungen von Sprachstörungen bei Zweisprachigen basiert.

Jerzy J. Smolicz von der Universität Adelaide (Australien) befaßt sich in seinem Aufsatz mit der Sprache als Kulturwert, mit der Frage der Akkulturation anhand von Beispielen aus dem vielsprachigen Australien.

Der letzte Beitrag ist eine Studie von Benjamin K. T'Sou über das Problem der Halbsprachigkeit und der fortgeschrittenen, Kreolisation. T'Sou arbeitet im Sprachzentrum der Universität Hong Kong, wo er diese Problematik mit Hilfe von intensiven Untersuchungen studieren konnte. Halbsprachigkeit (semilingualism), d. h. wenn keine der beiden Sprachen beherrscht wird, und Kreolisation treten in der Phase einer fortgeschrittenen Assimilation auf.

Als Fazit dieser kurzen Buchbesprechung sei es dem Rezensenten gestattet, auf die Bedeutung des vorliegenden Werkes als Beitrag zur Erforschung der Zweisprachigkeit und zur Gestaltung derer Theorie hinzuweisen und es den Linguisten in Ungarn, wo der Bilingualismus als konkrete Gegebenheit des Landes leider noch sehr wenig theoretisch erforscht ist, als wertvolle Lektüre zu empfehlen. Es ist eine komplexe Sammlung, die sich auf alle Dimensionen der Zweisprachigkeit bezieht und eine nützliche Zusammenfassung der neuesten Ergebnisse der Bilingualismusforschung darstellt.

N. Bradean-Ebinger

Elemér Illyés: Nationale Minderheiten in Rumänien. Siebenbürgen im Wandel. Ethnos, Band 23. Wilhelm-Braumüller Verlag, Wien 1983, 322 Seiten.

In der berühmten Wiener Schriften-Reihe „Ethnos“ erschien vor kurzem das Werk von Elemér Illyés über die nationalen Minderheiten in Rumänien. Es handelt sich um eine umfassende ethnolinguistische Monographie über die moderne Geschichte Siebenbürgens (Transsilvanien, Erdély) seit 1918, als dieses multinationale Gebiet, mit den drei klassischen transsilvanischen Nationen (Ungarn, Deutsche, Rumänen) Rumänien angeschlossen wurde. Das Buch analysiert mit wissenschaftlicher Gründlichkeit — das heißt emotionslos und in allen seinen Feststellungen rationell nachprüfbar — ein Problem, das im deutschen Sprachraum und wissenschaftlichen Bereich nur in groben Umrissen bekannt ist. Die Analyse der Nationalitätenpolitik in Siebenbürgen hat für den deutschsprachigen Leser eine ganz besondere Bedeutung, weil in ihr ein Stück österreichisch-ungarischer Staatsgeschichte (K. u. K. Monarchie 1867–1918) enthalten ist, und weil das Werk das Nebeneinander, die Koexistenz von deutschen und anderen Volksgruppen unter

verschiedenen Herrschaftsepochen sichtbar macht.

Der Verfasser untersucht detailliert anhand von Rechtsvorschriften die Praktiken der Schul-, Kultur- und der Sprachpolitik, soweit sie sich auf die heutige Lage der Nationalitäten in Siebenbürgen bezieht. In der vorliegenden Arbeit wird zum ersten Mal in größerem Umfang der Versuch unternommen, das Gesamtbild der ethnisch-kulturellen, sozioökonomischen und historischen Gegebenheiten der in Siebenbürgen lebenden nationalen Minderheiten, vorzüglich die Zeit von 1944–1980, zu analysieren. Es geht in diesem Buch um einen Tatsachenbefund, — unter Beachtung der zwischenkriegszeitlichen Periode —, um die Bedingungen, denen die Nationalitäten in ihrer politischen, wirtschaftlichen, gesellschaftlichen, kulturellen und sprachlichen Existenz gegenwärtig unterworfen sind.

Es sind vielseitige Faktoren, die den Themenkomplex bestimmen. Das Interesse konzentriert sich in erster Linie auf die beiden größten und bedeutendsten nationalen Minderheiten Siebenbürgens, die Ungarn und die Deutschen, die an der historischen Entwicklung des Landes und der Entfaltung seiner Kultur einen dominierenden Anteil hatten. Zugleich erstrecken sich die Untersuchungen auch auf andere Volksgruppen, vor allem auf die jüdische Minderheit, welcher zwar heute keine große Bedeutung mehr zukommt, die aber in der Kultur des Landes einmal sehr lebhaft in Erscheinung getreten war.

Der Begriff „Siebenbürgen“ wird im ersten Kapitel „Land und Bevölkerung“ erörtert, wobei hier vorweg zu erwähnen ist, daß der alte ungarische Name für dieses Gebiet, seit dem 9–10. Jahrhundert „Erdély“ oder „Erdölve“ lautet, wovon die rumänische Bezeichnung „Ardeal“ abgeleitet worden ist. Die lateinische Benennung „Transsilvania“, welches — vom Westen, bzw. von Ungarn kommend — „das Land jenseits des Waldes“ bedeutet, wird heute im Rumänischen gebraucht und bezieht sich nicht nur auf

das historische Siebenbürgen (Erdély), sondern auf das gesamte, vor 1919 Ungarn zugehörige Gebiet (das Partium und das Banat miteinbezogen). Der deutsche Name „Siebenbürgen“, der sich auf das Gebiet des historischen Fürstentums Siebenbürgen beschränkt, ist von „Cibinburg“, dem Hermannstädter (Nagyszeben, Sibiu) Gebiet abzuleiten. Siebenbürgen, durch die vierzig bis sechzig Kilometer breite und teilweise über zweitausend Meter hohe Gebirgskette der Karpaten vom Territorium Altrumäniens getrennt, ist nicht nur geographisch eine Einheit, sondern unterscheidet sich durch seine westlich geprägte Kulturgeschichte, durch seine historische Entwicklung und seine konfessionellen Traditionen stark von den übrigen Gebieten Rumäniens.

In der Einführung seines Buches gibt uns der Autor einen kurzen Überblick über die historische Entwicklung Siebenbürgens von der ungarischen Landnahme (896) bis zum Friedensvertrag von Trianon am 4. Juni 1920, als Rumänien außer dem historischen Siebenbürgen weite Teile der östlichen Gebiete Ungarns, d. h. Marmarosch und Sathmar, das Kreischgebiet und der östliche Teil des Banats zugesprochen wurden. Diese Entscheidung stütze sich auf die zahlenmäßige Überlegenheit der Rumänen, wenn auch ihre absolute Mehrheit mit 53,8% nur sehr gering ausfiel, wohingegen die nicht-rumänische Bevölkerung 46,2% ausmachte. Somit entstand ein multinationales und multikonfessionelles Großrumänien, das sich bis in die Gegenwart mit den Problemen seiner nationalen Minderheiten auseinanderzusetzen hat.

Im ersten Kapitel wird die ethnische Struktur Siebenbürgens analysiert. Das Gesamtgebiet, das heute als „Transsilvanien“ bezeichnet wird, umfaßt 103.093 km². Als sogenannte „mitwohnende Nationalitäten“ (nach rumänischer Terminologie) bewohnen es die Magyaren (Ungarn) seit dem 9–10. Jhd., die Siebenbürger Sachsen seit dem 13. Jhd., die Banater Schwaben seit dem 18. Jhd., die Sathmarer Schwaben

seit dem 18. Jhd., die Juden seit Ende des 18. Jhd.-s, die Slawen seit dem 19. Jhd., und größere Gruppe von Wanderzigeuner, die zum erstenmal infolge der Türkenkriege auf dem Gebiet Siebenbürgens erschienen. Im folgenden bringt der Verfasser statistische Daten der verschiedenen Volkszählungen ab 1910 bis 1977. Dem letzten rumänischen Zensus (von 1977) gemäß leben heute in Rumänien 1.706.874 Ungarn (7,9%), davon 1.597.438 in Transsilvanien (Siebenbürgen); 358.732 Deutsche (Sachsen und Schwaben, 1,6%), davon 341.881 in Transsilvanien; 129.922 Slawen (Ukrainer, Ruthenen, Serben, Kroaten, Slowenen, Russen, Lipovanen, 0,5%), davon 101.000 in Siebenbürgen; 25.686 Juden (0,12%), davon 14.000 in Siebenbürgen; 229.986 Zigeuner (1%), davon 48.000 in Transsilvanien.

Am Ende seiner demographischen Analyse stellt der Verfasser fest, daß die weitere demographische Evolution der nationalen Minderheiten in Rumänien eng mit der des Mehrheitsvolkes verknüpft ist. Es wäre jedoch verfrüht, weitere Prognosen zu stellen. Sicher ist jedenfalls, daß in den Vorteilen der gegenwärtigen sozio-ökonomischen Umstrukturierung innerhalb des Industrialisierungs- und Urbanisierungsprozesses Mehrheitsvolk und nationale Minderheit nicht gleichmäßig begünstigt sind.

Das zweite Kapitel befaßt sich mit den Möglichkeiten einer Koexistenz der Nationalitäten: die Entwicklung in der Zwischenkriegsperiode, die Rechtslage der Nationalitäten nach dem 2. Weltkrieg, die Nationalitätenpolitik der Rumänischen Volksrepublik (1947–1965) und die der Sozialistischen Republik Rumänien (seit 1965), nationale, sprachliche und ethnische Zugehörigkeit.

Kapitel 3 stellt die historische Entwicklung des Schulwesens der nationalen Minderheiten in Siebenbürgen vor, während Kapitel 4 die Lage der Nationalitätenkirchen in Transsilvanien schildert. Das letzte Kapitel beschreibt die Entwicklung des Presse- und Verlagswesens der Nationa-

litäten in Rumänien. Im Anhang folgt ein dreisprachiges (rumänisch, ungarisch, deutsch) Verzeichnis der Siebenbürger Ortsnamen.

Zusammenfassend kann diese monumentale Monographie als wertvolles wissenschaftliches Handbuch und Nachschlagewerk sowohl für den Ethnolinguisten, als auch für den Historiker und Soziologen, sowie für alle Wissenschaftler, die sich für Nationalitätenfragen in Osteuropa interessieren, bezeichnet werden. Sie ist eine mit wissenschaftlicher Minutiösität ausgearbeitete Darstellung der ethnischen Situation eines in der ganzen Welt weniger bekannten Gebietes. Es versteht sich von selbst, daß diese Darstellung einen gewissen Standpunkt vertritt, den nicht alle Betroffenen unbedingt teilen.

N. Bradean-Ebinger

Alice F. Freed: The Semantics of English Aspectual Complementation. Synthese Language Library Volume 8, D. Reidel Publishing Company, Dordrecht (Holland)—Boston (U.S.A.)—London (England) 1979, X + 173 pp.

Although there is no reference to this fact in the book itself, this volume is obviously the published version of Alice Fredricka Freed's Ph. D. Dissertation (Univ. of Pennsylvania 1976) by the same title. Rarely can one witness the appearance in print of a work on a well-defined but controversial subject in semantics so thoroughly researched and closely argued as "The Semantics of English Aspectual Complementation". Despite some critical comments I wish to make on the way some terms are used and some of the sentences are interpreted by the author, this monograph certainly stands its ground firmly as a unified whole, by virtue of its consistent and lucid method of analysis, detached and fair handling of the data and a very carefully elaborated, yet remarkably simple theoretical framework for a given portion of surface structures in English.

In the wake of the investigations carried out by D. Perlmutter, F. Newmeyer and T. Givón in the field of 'aspectual' verbs like *start*, *continue*, *finish*, etc., but avoiding potentially fruitless treatments of deep structure constraints, Freed surpasses all previous attempts by providing a neat semantic and syntactic analysis of twelve 'aspectualizers', namely *begin*, *start*, *continue*, *keep*, *resume*, *repeat*, *stop*, *quit*, *cease*, *finish*, *end* and *complete* operating on the complement structures as their second arguments, exemplified by sentences such as *Linda started to write her second book*, *Linda started writing her second book*, *Bill started the conversation*, *Barry started his new car* (p. 2). The first two are regarded as sentential complements (the *to V* and *V-ing* form), while the latter two, *conversation* and *car* represent derived nominals and primitive nouns, respectively. The aspectual verbs dealt with are shown to constitute a coherent syntactic and semantic class through a systematic temporal as well as non-temporal interaction with their complements. One of the most remarkable, though at times vulnerable, features of the analysis is the regular examination of all relevant structures against a background of *presuppositions* and *consequences* (entailments) in various linguistic contexts representing conversational interaction between speaker and hearer. From the semantic point of view, the complements of these temporal aspectual verbs are described in terms of 'events', as opposed, for instance, to another group of verbs like *regret* or *deny* that usually take *that S* complements, which are interpreted as 'facts'. Events are presented as consisting of several different temporal segments, to which reference is made by the aspectualizers, themselves considered to be 'aspectual events' (note 1, p. 162).

Freed states in the Preface that her work owes a great deal to the method of analysis of the two Kiparskys in the field of verb complementation and to the line taken by L. Karttunen on various semantic

issues including presuppositions. Apart from those hitherto mentioned, Z. Vendler and D. Dowty seem to have had an impact on this volume on individual points. For all this, however, the approach adopted in the book is entirely unique and, to the present reviewer at least, appears to have provided a definitive answer to the great majority of the issues undertaken.

The book is divided into eight chapters, each organically linked to all the others, yet a complete whole in itself. Chapter I (pp. 1–24) presents the theoretical framework and method of analysis for the study, followed by a discussion of *aspectual constructions*, *aspectual distinctions* and the definition of the aspectualizers, and concluded by a description and explanation of the corpus (9 contemporary novels, supplemented by other examples, all carefully tested against the reactions and intuitions of a great number of native speakers). By and large the book avoids formalization through symbolic logic but all definitions, statements and context frames are given with such a degree of exactness as natural language constructions can possibly afford. Presuppositions and consequences have practical (operational) definitions rather than formal logical ones, the former interpreted as ‘prior knowledge shared by speaker and hearer’ and the latter as ‘entailed information conveyed by the speaker and learned by the hearer’ (4). These are to be carefully distinguished from the speaker’s intentions or assumptions (*ibid.*).

In contrast to a model-theoretic approach to similar problems where one of the key propositions is the truth value of a sentence at a given point in time or a given interval of time (depending on the framework), here the actual truth or falsity of a sentence is considered irrelevant. “In actual speech, it is rather the speaker’s and/or hearer’s belief in or acceptance of the truthfulness (perhaps the accuracy) of the sentence as determined in the linguistic (or social) context which decides the felicity of an utterance” (5). I do not entirely agree with this. While sentences

with non-progressive forms in them and sentences containing progressive forms can certainly be compared as to their presuppositions and consequences when taken separately as groups, when the opposing members of the above-mentioned correlation are brought into temporal relationship, they have different truth values attached to them and come from two entirely different worlds, that of experienced time (even when embedded) in the case of progressive forms and that of contemplated time (in that of non-progressive forms). While the former express a maximum of perfect validity at the time of predication but a validity diminishing smoothly both ways into the past and the future towards perfect irrelevance or falsity (Cf. M. Joos: *The English Verb. Form and Meanings*. Madison and Milwaukee 1964) and have the ‘vertical’ (experienced duration) truth value of a point in time, the latter have the constant ‘horizontal’ (measurable duration) truth value of (contemplated) intervals of time. Let’s see an example. On page 61 the activity of *He started sleeping* is said to have the consequence in *He is/was sleeping*. I have two objections to make. First, *He is sleeping* can only be brought into (inclusive-locative) temporal relationship with *He has started sleeping* (or more naturally, *He has fallen asleep*). Second, *He was sleeping* is a consequence of *He started to sleep* only as far as points of time are concerned (when we slow down to the ‘slow cadence’ of universe time – W. H. Hirtle’s term) as shown by, for instance, *The next moment he was sleeping* or *At ten thirty he was sleeping*, and, as regards aspect we are, as it were, inside the situation described by the progressive form (the truth value diminishing smoothly both ways). As regards the whole concept of temporal segmentation in the book, however, the nucleus of the event can only be described by a verbal form that naturally spans a whole period and is readily measurable (we then move at the ‘rapid cadence’ of contemplated time from the

initiation of the event to its termination), namely, the non-progressive form. Therefore, in terms of interval truth (which is readily applicable to the nucleus of the event, as opposed to instantaneous truth), the consequence of *He started sleeping* is *He slept* + some measure phrase (such as *from ten to seven a.m., until seven a.m., for nine hours*, etc.). In the present the situation is different as no measured duration is conceivable, thus the sentence *He has started sleeping/He has fallen asleep* can have only one consequence in *He is sleeping/He is asleep*, but not **He sleeps/*He sleeps* + measure phrase. To sum up this point, I argue that (1) Freed does not take into account the different facet of time as presented by progressive aspect and, therefore, only one branch of the consequence relationship is unveiled; (2) The author allows a shift from a past context to an alleged present consequence. This is probably partly due to the fact that "as a matter of convenience, tense is not considered in this discussion" (2). It may not have been considered but *was* tacitly employed, though not always felicitously.

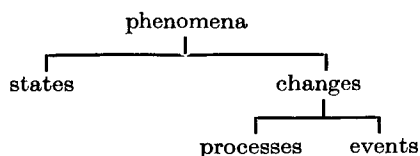
As far as the category of ASPECT is concerned, the author takes a rather eclectic view, which does not, after all, damage her analysis of 'aspectual' verbs operating on their complements as events but it does anything but help clarify the picture about this notoriously unruly category. I have the feeling that Freed has dissolved ASPECT in what some traditional works would describe as AKTIONSDART or what would, among other things, be called INHERENT MEANING in some others. Aspect and Aktionsart are difficult to define even when they are carefully kept apart, let alone when the category assumes the shape of a kind of 'depot' or 'store' where all kinds of verbal and temporal distinctions (except perhaps TENSE) can be dumped. Let me quote a few passages. "Aspect is understood as a notion of time, distinct from tense, that refers to the internal temporal structure

of events and activities named by various linguistic forms" (10). "Whereas tense makes specific reference to time or to the CHRONOLOGICAL ORDERING of events in the real world, in particular with respect to the time of the utterance, aspect describes the TEMPORAL QUALITY OR CONDITION of an event with respect to itself, in terms of such things as inception, repetition, completion, duration, punctuality, etc.," (ibid.) "Despite the confusion present in differing treatments of aspect, there is general agreement about its definition" (p. 11). (This astonishing claim renders me speechless — in this review at any rate, since obviously this is not the right place to cite scores of wildly different definitions of aspect.) The author herself refers to the conception of Friedrich, Holt, Jakobson and Comrie but I fail to see the truthfulness of her claim that "In all of these, reference is made to the temporal quality of events (activities, states or processes) and the way in which they are viewed as progressing through time, from the point of view of the events themselves. They are not viewed in relation to the time of the utterance, to actual moments of time, nor in relation to the speaker." (11) As I see it, ASPECT is a category that allows the speaker to view an event either analytically (from the inside) or synoptically (from the outside). In this way, events *are* related to the speaker. In addition, they are also related to the experienced duration (reference to the phrase 'progressing through time' quoted above) of universe time. But, in my view, ASPECT is *not* concerned with the *temporal segments* into which an event can be analysed. We need another term for this phenomenon, which, I think, ought to be PHASE, and verbs such as *start, continue, finish*, etc. should in fact be labelled PHASAL rather than ASPECTUAL verbs. The term PHASE would certainly be in agreement with the semantic phenomena described in the book. (And, I should think, this would be a much better use of the term than the way it was

used by M. Joos to label the category of the perfect in English.) The following quotations will exemplify, I hope, the extent to which ASPECT is treated eclectically in the book. "There is usually more than one linguistic form that can express aspectual meaning for a given language. The interaction of lexical meaning (that is, the potential aspectual character of the meaning of single words), the form of the verb, the form of nouns (sing. versus plur., mass nouns versus count nouns), adverbials, tense, etc. contributes to the aspectual character of an utterance. Verbs are most central to such descriptions, however, and, consequently, tense and adverbials are of particular importance to an analysis of aspect" (11). "Such diverse forms as tense markers, adverbials, noun phrases, complements, etc., all seem capable of expressing aspectual difference." (12) "... English lacks a specific set of formally marked aspectual categories. Instead, aspectual meaning is carried by the interaction of various linguistic features whose function is not primarily aspectual." (12) "In fact, the categories progressive and non-progressive, habitual and various other aspectual meaning such as durative, iterative, generic and serial are all intuitively subcases of the imperfective." (15). All in all, the term is so loose that it does not seem to convey any positive meaning at all. If, however, we disregard this, we find numerous salient observations on features like serial, iterative, durative, generic, perfective and imperfective under the heading "Aspectual Distinctions" (14–19).

Chapter II (25–46) is devoted to an analysis of events functioning as complements for aspectual verbs. After reviewing the linguistic (Menzel, Givón, Dowty, Karttunen, Newmeyer) and the philosophical (Davidson, von Wright, Vendler) literature on events, the author outlines her own temporal analysis of events. The whole chapter is well substantiated and offers an exact clue to the temporal analysis of events. Most though not all

events can be analysed into three major temporal sections, the ONSET, the NUCLEUS and the CODA (30). The nucleus itself is said to consist of three parts, the INITIAL, the MIDDLE and the FINAL stage (33). Freed convincingly argues that the onset and the initial stage of the nucleus are often qualitatively distinct. "If, as proposed, *start* refers to the onset of an event and *begin* refers to an initial temporal segment of the nucleus, then it may also be stated that, in general, 'starting' is prior to 'beginning' " (72). Pages 37–40 put forward the formal conditions for onset, nucleus and coda. Finally, there is a discussion of *events* as opposed to *activities*, *actions* and *processes*. "The two distinctions made in connection with the temporal segmentation of events were between EVENTS in general and (1) ACTIVITIES and (2) STATES". (40) "Aside from the distinction between events and actions... 'event' can also be contrasted with 'process' " (41). I adhere to the view that, as far as possible, linguistic terms should be 'mnemonic' and not arbitrary. Therefore, when one tries to find cover terms for grouping various phenomena together, a number of difficulties have to be overcome. Although *event* as used in this book is a fairly good term to include possibly everything that is not a *proposition* or an *object* (43–45), I could never bring myself to say that a *state* was an *event*. There are some other cover terms as well, perhaps *situation* is the latest (Cf. B. Comrie's basic division into *states* and dynamic *situations*, in *Aspect*, O. U. P. 1976, (48–51). Whereas I feel 'event' is not general enough, 'situation' carries with it a much more complex group of factors than are necessary for this categorization. I would prefer the following scheme:



In Chapter III (47–63) events are broken down into five types: ACTIVITIES (e.g. *running, walking or sleeping*), ACCOMPLISHMENTS (e.g. *writing a letter, painting a picture or running a mile*), ACHIEVEMENTS (e.g. *reaching a decision, winning a race or finding the answer*), STATES (e.g. *knowing, loving or believing*) and SERIES (e.g. *sneezing, jumping or losing things*). The last term is Freed's addition to the classification introduced by Vendler (Cf. Z. Vendler: *Linguistics in Philosophy*, Cornell Univ. Press, Ithaca 1967, 107). There is a meaningful table on pp 48–49 summarizing Vendler's discussion of the categories and the formal tests that Dowty applied to them. Accomplishments turn out to be the least problematic category, whereas achievements seem to reject all the tests, except one, which says *V in an hour, take an hour to V*, e.g. *John found his book in an hour*. Freed systematically applies her temporal 'aspectual' analysis to these 'aspectual' verb-types and draws a number of significant conclusions. Again, achievement terms pose the greatest problems for interpretation. "There is ... an apparent paradox since we do not say of such events, *It took — minutes to V*, where *V* is an achievement. Upon careful examination, however, it appears that the activity or event that took place for the period of time named by the adverbial is not the event named by *V* in the sentence *It took — minutes to V*. *It took ten minutes to V*, where *V* is an achievement verb, does not have as a consequence *N V-ed for ten minutes*. Rather some other event has been taking place for ten minutes and the culmination of that event is the 'achieving' of the event named by the achievement verb. For example, *It took Barbara ten minutes to find her keys* does not have as a consequence **Barbara found her keys for ten minutes*. Instead, it has a consequence *Barbara found her keys after looking for them for ten minutes*. The successful culmination of 'looking for something' is 'finding it'. The latter is an achievement

term." (51) Pages 54–63 provide an explicit system of contextual frames for activities, accomplishments, achievements, states and series. Let me quote an example: "Activities: 1. If *V* occurs with *stop* in *NP stopped V-ing X* and has a consequence *NP V-ed X*, then *V* is an 'activity'. In such cases *V* occurs awkwardly with *finish*. Example: *Blushing* occurs with *stop* in *Ivan stopped blushing*. It has as a consequence, *Ivan blushed*. It occurs awkwardly with *finish* in? *Ivan finished blushing*. Therefore, *blushing* is an activity" (55).

Chapter IV (64–87) sees a detailed comparison of the verbs *begin* and *start*. As opposed to common assumptions about these two verbs as being nearly identical in meaning and use, the author comes up with a host of observations and statements covering the areas in which the two verbs differ from each other. In addition to the difference referred to above, for instance, *start* is presented as a verb expressing specified causation as against *begin* showing unspecified causation.

Chapter V (88–107) is devoted to an analysis of the verbs *continue*, *keep*, *resume* and *repeat*. *Keep* and *continue* are treated as *imperfectivizers* (88). The complement that follows either of them is always an activity term. The resulting sentences have durative readings. "... *keep* consistently lends either a durative or a serial reading to its complements." (92) "*Continue* is different from *keep* in presupposing in all contexts the prior initiation of the event named in the complement" (92). Unlike *continue*, *keep* turns out to have a causative feature (97). "... *resume* presupposes both the prior initiation and cessation of the event named in its complement" (100). "... *repeat* presupposes not only the prior initiation of the event named, but its completion as well" (105).

Chapter VI (108–125) deals with the 'aspectualizers' *stop*, *quit* and *cease*. "... *stop* does not refer to a terminal segment of the nucleus but to a suspension in the ongoing progression of the nuclear activity

of the event" (110). "The sentence with *quit* implies a more complete or final cessation of the event named in its complement, and as such is awkward if temporally qualified. The sentence with *stop* has no such restriction and invites a reading of a possible resumption of the event in question." (111). *Quit* appears to be marked for intentionality but not causation, *stop* is specified for causation, whereas *cease* expresses unspecified causation (159–160).

In Chapter VII (126–143) the verbs *finish*, *end* and *complete* are systematically compared. "*Finish*, *end* and *complete* refer to either a last temporal segment of the nucleus or to the coda of the events named in their complements" (126). Whereas *end* conveys the information that the event was 'ended' during the nuclear activity and that, therefore, it refers to a last temporal segment of the nucleus, *finish* refers to the coda of its events and signals that the entire event has been brought to a definite completion" (129). *End* turns out to be causative, a feature which *finish* does not have (133). One of the most crucial statements concerns the role of *stop* and *finish* in comparison to each other. Contrastive examples: *After many months of writing and worrying she stopped/finished writing her autobiography*. The sentence with *stop* does in no way suggest that the autobiography was ever completed. "It was simply interrupted while the writing of it was in progress" (p 139). This is in contrast to the sentence with *finish*, which refers to its completion. In accordance with the author's claim, the presupposition and consequence relations of the aspectual verb types when in construction with their complements, turn out to be just as reliable in distinguishing between types of events as, for example, syntactic compatibility. Freed is able to show that *finish* can only take accomplishments, whereas *stop* can take both accomplishments and activities, e.g. *John finished writing the book*. ?*John finished writing* is possible only if a temporally bounded specific action is meant: *John stopped*

writing/writing the book. The syntactic criteria here would invoke compatibility with measure phrase of the type *for an hour* and *in an hour*. For instance, *John read the book for an hour/in an hour*. But: *John read for an hour/*in an hour*.

Chapter VIII (144–162) furnishes us with a summary of the syntactic and semantic characteristics of the aspectualizers. Three excellent tables are given. Table I (147) sums up the use of aspectual verbs with noun objects, Table II (157) reveals the presuppositions and consequences of the various aspectualizers and, finally, Table III (158) charts the occurrence or non-occurrence of different complement verb types with the aspectual verbs in question. The tables are followed by a summary of skeletal facts concerning features other than temporal that are sometimes associated with aspectualizers, namely intentionality, causation (specified), causation (unspecified), lack of causation. The book is completed by a list of the syntactic constructions relevant for individual aspectualizers: the middle voice, non-identical subjects, ellipsis, no ellipsis, *get* passive, to *V* or *V-ing* complement and complements restricted to derived nouns or primitive nouns. At the end of the book there are a Bibliography of 66 items, a list of data sources and an index of names and one of subjects.

Naturally, there are quite a few questions left open awaiting further discussion, for example, the relationship of these 'aspectualizers' (or as I would prefer to call them, 'phasals') to compatibility with various types of time adverbials. Some of these issues do receive coverage in the book, but these problems require further research. In addition, I wonder how we are to treat phrasal verbs like *go on* (= *continue*) or *give up*, which are not included in Freed's material, albeit they seem to be relevant. Furthermore, isn't, for example, *open* the same to be *open* as *begin* to *understand* is to *understand*?! This, I believe, hints at a possibility of treating these questions in a broader semantic category

termed PHASE, which, however, would have to be carefully distinguished from ASPECT.

In conclusion, I should like to stress that, apart from the treatment of aspect as a very loose category, and a few other debatable points raised above, the volume under review is a remarkable piece of scholarly achievement, full of careful analyses and insights, and inspiring and thought-provoking reading for anyone interested in this field of semantics.

B. Hollósy

Teun De Rycker: The Expanded Form. A Dynamic Synchronic Approach. Antwerp Papers in Linguistics, Vol. 27, Universiteit Antwerpen 1982.

Based on the author's 1981 thesis, the volume under review sets out to analyse the formal and semantic distribution of the *expanded form* (EF) in English as reflected by actual usage in eight plays published between 1971 and 1978. The corpus, which is justifiably believed to represent 'a fairly satisfactory approximation to spoken English', falls into a British English (4 plays) and an American English (4 plays) sample of approximately 50,000 words each. Chapter I (1-3) outlines the theoretical framework chosen and the main objectives of the study. Both the formal and the semantic analysis are presented within the so-called dynamic synchrony approach (as elaborated by M. Aguirre and L. Goossens: *Dynamic Synchrony. An Illustration from the English Modals*. Antwerp Papers in Linguistics (11, 1977), which enables the linguist to look at the use of a form 'not as a stable set of meanings, but as an open-ended and essentially dynamic system' (1). In this way, diachronic data are also systematically taken into consideration to support the analysis on the synchronic level.

For all this, however, the chief merits of this study lie primarily in the way the

semantic analysis of the form in question is handled, even though some critical comments will also be made. Much of the confusion around the category of aspect and the functioning of the expanded form (BE + V-ING) in English stems from an inadequate treatment of terms and levels, especially as far as assignment of features and compatibility of one feature with another are concerned. Obviously, when we are faced with the problem of assigning a general or a constant feature to the expanded form, it is not all the same whether we establish the feature as a property of the BE + -ING marker, or of the whole morphological unit as in *be working*, *be hitting*, *be winning*, etc., of syntactic constructions containing VP-s like *be writing a letter*, *be answering some questions* or complex syntactic configurations like *be walking for an hour* or, again, of sentences, e.g. *He is always losing his glasses*. Nevertheless, in most works on the subject, a 'general' feature, in the form of a label meant to be a semantic primitive, is postulated to account for the overall functions of the EF on the level of morphological units, albeit this approach would only justify the assignment of a primitive feature for the BE + -ING marker, given, of course, that the feature is correctly stated for the marker. Other linguists will then usually criticise this procedure by citing examples of sentences with morphological and syntactic constructions that do not satisfy this semantic feature and usually conclude that no general or constant semantic feature can possibly be revealed for the expanded form but almost invariably fail to specify whether this statement refers to the marker itself or to a construction (morphological or syntactic). For this reason, it is refreshing to see the goal set here as follows, "In the semantic part of the study I will try and determine how much of the total meaning of a particular form in a given context has to be ascribed to the form itself and what shades of meaning one can observe actually spring from the interaction of the form

with the overall semantic and pragmatic context. It will be agreed that the multiplicity of its uses notwithstanding, the semantic system of the expanded form can be described from one central meaning that may get a variety of further specified or modified interpretations dependent on the nature of the surrounding context." (1-2) In order not to be prejudiced by a 'telling' semantic label like 'progressive', 'temporary' or 'continuous', De Rycker chooses a form-oriented term, 'expanded', which was Jespersen's choice as well. And although it could be argued that the 'perfect' is just as much an expanded form (the same sort of criticism that is usually levelled at the term periphrastic in this context), it is definitely less preconceived than a semantic label. The best formal solution, though, would possibly be to call it the BE + V-ING form.

The above sound principle is consistently applied to all stages of the analysis, except one crucial point. Although adverbials of frequency and time adverbials, objects and extralinguistic factors are all considered before passing judgment on their contribution to the overall meaning of a sentence, thus preventing terms like 'incomplete' or 'temporary' from being attached to the EF itself, it seems that the lexical features of the verb are not regarded as context and, then, we are not dealing with the marker separately, but there appears a joint unanalysable feature for the marker and the lexical verb base. "... if there is anything that can seriously claim to be central to the meaning of the verbal periphrasis, it is the meaning of progressiveness" (114). This, however, runs counter to Comrie's principle, according to which "situations are not described by verbs alone, but rather by the verb together with its arguments (subjects and objects)" (quoted on 51). In this way, we arrive at a feature established on the basis of semantic and syntactic criteria but ascribed to a morphological unit, which calls for criticism, but we are still in the dark about the role of the marker as it is

not singled out of the EF in semantic terms, which is again infelicitous. By this I do not mean that we ought not to analyse the aspectual function of the expanded form as a morphological construction. On the contrary, I believe that all levels of the interaction of the feature of the BE + -ING marker with 1) the lexical verb base 2) the arguments of the verb (subject and object), both in terms of telicity and quantification 3) syntactic factors (adverbials of time, adverbials of frequency, etc.) 4) extralinguistic features should be carefully considered. Let's see some examples. 'Progressiveness', assuming that it is a correct feature on the level of the 'verbal periphrasis', as the author puts it, may still be a correct feature on a higher level, e.g. on that of verb phrases, as in *He is writing a letter*, *She is finishing her essay*, etc., but perhaps not on a still higher syntactic level as exemplified by *He is playing a lot of tennis these days*. On the other hand, a sentence like *Your slip is showing* can hardly be said to describe a progressing event, yet the sentence is well-formed. This may lead us to conclude that though 'progressiveness' may be a very frequent compositional feature associated with the verbal periphrasis in question, the BE + -ING marker itself in this periphrasis (and higher level constructions as well) signifies something rather about the truth or validity of the statement, namely that the statement is 100% true at the moment of speech, but its validity diminishes both ways in a probabilistic curve (see M. Joos: *The English Verb. Form and Meaning*. Madison and Milwaukee 1964).

I agree entirely with what De Rycker states about the EF as an aspectual form: "By using an EF, the language-user indicates that he does not look upon the situation he is referring to from outside, in its globality, but from inside, as consisting of various if not always objectively distinguishable phases. In stepping into the situation, which is presented as durative, he pays essential attention to the ongoing-

ness within the temporal constituency of the situation and not to its beginning or end." (114) The first statement is a neat formulation of atemporal aspect, whereas the second maps the view of the situation on the time axis, thus describing the crucial temporal facet of this aspectual distinction. There is, however, something to be added to this. We can conceptualize time only through observing the periodicity of cosmic and less cosmic events in reality and as we are experiencing events, time is passing by. Therefore we can conclude that *events* occurring around us and *time* are very closely intertwined. Thus, it is possible to make a statement that will be 100% true only at the actual moment of speaking by referring either to events progressing in time (e.g. *John is repairing the radio*) or the passing of time itself, which may be felt if a 'tense, contingent state' between two events happens to be true at the moment of speaking (e.g. *Your slip is showing*), in contrast to the apparent stationary character of time in statements about true states (e.g. *John is ill*). I would suggest, therefore, that the BE + -ING marker consists of two components, a temporal one (BE), referring either only to TIME PASSING at the moment of speech (*durative*) or to TIME PASSING and AN EVENT GOING ON (*progressive*) at the time of the speech act, and an aspectual one (-ING) indicating the speaker's view of the event from the inside (*analytic*). As the two concepts are equally important and support each other rather than enter into conflict, they can be regarded as one unified whole in relation to the verbal phrases and syntactic constructions in question.

Chapter II (4–38) deals with the EF from a formal point of view. After a discussion of the relevant terminology, the author tackles the problem of delimiting the EF from other, syntactically similar forms and touches upon elliptical forms. On pages 9–16 he gives a concise historical survey of the development of the various tenses of the EF as well as of the *going to*

form. The rest of the chapter is devoted to a thorough analysis of the corpus in terms of frequency of EF-s (562 and 537 occurrences in the British and American samples respectively), the distribution of the progressive tenses (relying on D. Nehl's two-axis model), non-finite forms versus finite forms, mood, voice, tense and aspect. De Rycker makes essential observations (statistical and otherwise) concerning passive, future and perfect progressives. As the corpus reveals, the present and past progressives constitute 92% of all finite EF-s (the *going to* forms excluded) (29). By referring to the findings of R. L. Allen, J. Krámsky, J. Scheffer and contrasting them with his own, the author draws interesting conclusions. The frequency of progressive tense distribution in the four corpora is summarized in Table 7 (30). The striking similarities between British and American English in the sphere of EF-s are confirmed by applying the chi-square test of statistics to the data. An analysis of the *be going to* and *be gonna* (Am.) forms rounds off the chapter.

The expanded form is subjected to thorough scrutiny from the semantic point of view in Chapter III (39–112), which makes up the bulk of the book. Anyone familiar with the issue concerning the progressive form in English and the category of aspect can only see eye to eye with the author when he states that "Somehow the EF seems to have been defying any kind of overall semantic characterization more stubbornly than other linguistic phenomena. The terminological babel... as well as the apparently unending list of relevant publications are only too obvious symptoms of the complexity surrounding its semantics. Though this complexity arises mainly as the unfortunate side-effect of the fact that the EF is open to a multiplicity of uses, it can also partly be put down to the virtual impossibility of getting to grips with the form under discussion without paying at least some attention to the decidedly controversial concept of aspect."

(39) Of course, although the problems involved are complex, the situation is far from being dismal or hopeless, since, especially over the past 20 years, a great number of important works have appeared on the subject, and with each new contribution a better understanding of some of the relevant issues is achieved. This is certainly true of the present work as well, which is a strikingly unbiassed, objective, critical and imaginative treatment of the question, even though some of the solutions offered may be criticised by the reviewer. In all fairness, however, I must single out a pessimistic appraisal of the state of the art (quoted on p 39): Many have tried and failed — to define aspect and its basic terminology in semantic-universal or morphological language-specific terms. (R. Chatterjee: A Review of B. Comrie's Aspect. In: General Linguistics 20, 114).

De Rycker avoids the treatment of the various controversies that are manifest in the literature. Instead, he pinpoints a few key definitions by Comrie as well as Miller and Johnson-Laird on tense and aspect. I do approve of the applicability of the category of aspect to English on the grammatical level, despite the fact that, originally, it came to stand for the perfective:: imperfective opposition ('vid' in the Slavonic languages), yet I believe that the labels perfective: imperfective signal an opposition essentially Slavonic and I would question their applicability either for English or as general semantic terms. This position is different from the author's: "... the language-independent distribution perfective versus imperfective may or may not be grammaticalised in a given language." (40) I claim that there is no predicting whether the language will assign a specific feature to one member of the opposition (marked member) rather than to the other (unmarked member). In this way, the Russian aspectual correlation, for instance, identifies unambiguously the perfective as the marked member, since it is this form that has a specific and narrow semantic scope. In English, however, the

marked member is definitely the progressive form. However, both Russian and English realise the general semantic aspectual distinction of *analytic* vs. *synoptic*, which, themselves, are neutral to markedness, just with opposite poles. That the author does not recognize a general semantic or notional aspectual distinction neutral to markedness but that he nevertheless clearly separates the two types of aspectual correlation is evident from the following passage: "Though there is sufficient overlap to make comparison relevant the opposition EF versus NEF is an English-particular way of grammaticalising analytically the semantic difference between progressive and nonprogressive, and not between imperfective and perfective." (41) In discussing 'progressiveness', De Rycker refers to Comrie's diagram (Aspect, 1976, 25) treating *nonprogressive* and *progressive* as branching from the node of *continuous*, which, in turn, together with *habitual*, branches from the node of *imperfective*. There are references to a number of definitions in this context, set up by Visser, Goyvaerts as well as König and Lutzeier. Besides progressiveness, which is one of the most crucial concepts associated with the EF, *stativity*, *habituality*, *limited duration*, *temporariness*, *incompletion*, *iterativity*, *futurity*, *temporal frame*, *background* and some so-called *dubious meanings* sometimes associated with the EF are scrutinized.

One of the most intriguing questions concerning the use of the EF is connected with its relationship to stativity. The author contrasts a number of different views on the issue, such as König and Lutzeier's analysis of sentences like *Your coat is lying on the floor*. (44), D. Dowty's handling of predications concerning stationary objects in relation to a 'moving observer' as a 'fixed' point of reference (p 44), Goldsmith and Woisetschlaeger's criticism of the usual position in the literature on stative situations and aspect (45). Under the heading *Habituality*, the author notes, "It seems that an EF needs

neither the presence of a limited time period, nor the reference to a dynamic situation to be compatible with the meaning of habituality." (46) As I understand it, there is no way of witnessing the feature *habitual* in a sentence like *I am walking to work this winter* if the inclusive adverbial of time is removed from the sentence. Thus, from the viewpoint of habituality it is absolutely essential to have an adverbial of this type in the sentence. The next question then is whether the EF is compatible with it. It certainly is but at this level, though the aspectual description in terms of atemporal aspect (-ING) is still the same (in agreement with Visser's position, quoted on p. 46), the temporal component of the aspectual marker (BE) undergoes the change of 'now' extension and the truth value of the sentence will now relate to the period given rather than to the speech act. This is very important to realise since it is quite possible that when the speaker utters the sentence *I am walking to work this winter*, he may not be engaged in the activity of walking at all at the time of speech. Still, this type of habitual statement is very different from *I walk to work*, since in the latter case the truth value of the sentence *cannot* rather than *may not* refer to an act of walking at the moment of speech. Furthermore, any situation that occurs in the EF is dynamic by definition. A sentence such as *You are always hearing noises!* definitely shows that a lot of actions like the other person's constant references to the noises and his behaviour pattern are all 'subsumed' under the meaning of *hear*. Finally, the role of *always* as an adverbial of frequency is entirely different from other adverbials like *often*, *usually*, *sometimes*, etc. By its very meaning, *always* refers to *more* than habituality. It purports to convey permanent truth. For instance, *always* could easily be added to the sentence *The sun rises in the east*. When, however, there are typical habitual statements made, involving the use of the EF with *always*, a

qualifying phrase or clause is necessary, otherwise there is a clash between habituality and permanent truth. Thus, a sentence such as *My car always breaks down* is odd, unless we add a qualifying clause like *when I need it most*. On the other hand, when the EF is resorted to in a sentence containing *always*, we pass into an irrational and emotional world, where otherwise incompatible features like permanent truth (*always*) and (even with *now* extension), contingent truth (BE + -ING) can occur in one predication in relation to the same situation.

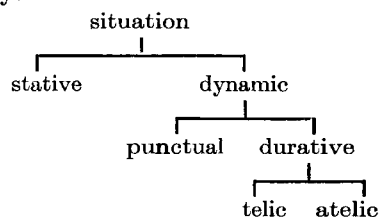
The range of problems connected with limited duration and temporariness is extremely complex and this complexity is fairly represented in the relevant subchapter (47-49). Since the term *duration* is used in at least three ways in the literature (1. continuance or progress in time 2. length of time 3. length of events in time) and the term *durative*, as an adjectival variant to all the three senses of duration, has a fourth sense as well, referring to *capability* of being measured (related to *durativity*), the chaos is inevitable and order cannot be restored within the confines of a review. De Rycker is also very cautious in dealing with duration and contents himself by outlining the problems involved, without an attempt at solving them. It is this subchapter that also contains a sketchy discussion of the model-theoretic approach to aspect (references to Bennett + Partee's and König + Lutzeier's though not to Dowty's model). I disagree with De Rycker's criticism of the concept of temporary validity as applied to sentences such as *She's always buying far more vegetables than they can possibly eat*. The point, in my view, is that the truth or validity value of a sentence is dependent on the degree of 'now' extension, and whereas sentences of the type *He is reading a book* are without 'now' extension, and sentences such as *He is playing a lot of tennis these days* involve limited 'now' extension (both being rational predications), sentences like

He is always losing his glasses! imply an irrational degree of extending 'now' to 'all time'. Thus, the truth value of a sentence always reflects the degree of extended 'now'.

Subsequently, *incompletion* is discussed in relation to *telicity* and *iterativity* in connection with *punctuality*. At this point, I question the well-formedness of one of the examples given: *?The man was jumping off the bus repeatedly*. Since the iteration, which is claimed to be a feature of this sentence can only arise after the cycle of jumping off and jumping on has been completed. The following sentence, however, would be perfectly acceptable: *The man was jumping off and on the bus*. Following an outline of the problems involved in EF-s 'expressing' futurity, Jespersen's frame theory and H. Weinrich's distinction between foreground and background, the author examines certain so-called dubious meanings sometimes associated with EF-s, such as plasticity, personal involvement, intensification or downgrading. After a diachronic survey of the semantics involved, the author proceeds to analyse his corpus in subchapter 3. (pp 69–112) In order to avoid having to disentangle complexities that may arise from inter-categorical interaction (for example, between tense, voice and aspect), De Rycker restricts himself to a consideration of the present progressive tense, active voice only. On the other hand, however, he undertakes to analyse his corpus in relation to "certain syntactic, semantic or syntactic-semantic variables such as the grammatical number of the subjects, the presence or absence of objects, the kind of temporal adverbial (if any), the type of the situation described, etc." (69)

Undoubtedly, without a careful consideration of the types of situations that EF-s can co-occur with, the semantic analysis would be futile or useless. Therefore, this is one of the most important sections of the book. Drawing on observations by B. Comrie, D. Dowty, G. Bauer,

A. Mittwoch and M. Bennett, the author describes the three oppositions of *stative* vs. *dynamic*, *telic* vs. *atelic* and *durative* vs. *punctual* and arrives at the following hierarchy:



In terms of this diagram, stative situations are called *states*, dynamic punctual situations *events* (which is a very restricted use of the term, since it usually has a much wider scope), durative telic (goal-oriented) situations *telic processes* and durative atelic situations — *atelic processes*. Time will, of course, tell whether this diagram is a definitive one. It certainly captures essential distinctions, arranged in the most logical order. Anyone coming up with a different scheme will obviously have to substantiate the alterations involved. On my part, I only find fault with the term 'durative' since it is far from being unambiguous (see my comments to this effect above). I think that the term *extended* for *durative* would be more appropriate here. It is a pity that the author does not compare his scheme with the one proposed by Z. Vendler in "Verbs and Times" in: *Linguistics in Philosophy*, Cornell Univ. Press, Ithaca, N. Y. 1967), a classic work on the subject, according to which events (corresponding to De Rycker's situations) are classified into *states*, *activities*, *accomplishments* and *achievements*. It seems to me that De Rycker's *state*, *atelic process* and *telic process* are readily identifiable with Vendler's *state*, *activity* and *accomplishment*, respectively. The terms that do not seem to match are De Rycker's *event* (= punctual situation) and Vendler's *achievement*. This situation could probably be remedied by adding *punctual event* to Vendler's terms on the one hand, and treat Rycker's *telic process* as a node from which *accom-*

plishments and *achievements* could branch. This would be necessary since a punctual event as exemplified by *John hit the boy* would be very different from an achievement, as in *John reached the top*. The remainder of the chapter is devoted to consideration of the active voice with passive meaning, futurity, collocation with verbs and situations, stativity, iterativity, incompleteness, habituality, progressiveness, temporariness, processes and their collocation with verbs as well as regular contrastive British—American and diachronic observations.

Chapter IV (113—121) serves as a final assessment of the issues undertaken as well as a sketch of the tendencies noticeable in the use and distribution of the EF. The Appendix describes the chi-square test. The volume is completed by the Notes (125—134) and a Bibliography of 8 + 82 references (primary and secondary sources, respectively).

Although a first work, De Rycker's book on the expanded form is a most welcome and useful contribution to the research into the semantics of aspect in English and related problems. It contains a well-balanced critical appraisal of the literature and through formal and semantic analysis of the chosen corpus as well as the contrastive and diachronic issues involved.

B. Hollósy

Grundlagen der Sprachkultur. Beiträge der Prager Linguistik zur Sprachtheorie und Sprachpflege. Teil 2. Akademie-Verlag, Berlin 1982, S. 356.

Seit der erste Band dieser Sammelreihe herausgegeben wurde, also seit 1976, warten wir auf das Erscheinen des zweiten, der unsere Vorstellung über die Prager Linguistik, insbesondere ihrer Beiträge über die Theorie der Literatursprache und der Sprachkultur, erweitern sollte.

Ein besonderes Verdienst des ersten Bandes besteht wohl darin, daß er schwer

erreichbare oder nur in tschechischer Fassung vorliegende Artikel der Klassiker der Prager Schule (Havránek, Mathesius usw.) in korrekter Übersetzung für einen größeren Leserkreis zugänglich gemacht hat. Erst wenn man die Thesen des Prager Linguistenkreises oder die Abhandlungen Havráneks über die Aufgaben der Sprachkultur und der zentralen Kategorie der Norm liest, merkt man, wieviele Anregungen diese Gedanken auch für die eigene Arbeit geben können. Die Ursache der oft erstaunlichen Aktualität dieser Schriften ist, daß die Prager Linguisten immer die größeren Zusammenhänge der Sprachwissenschaft ins Auge fassen, auch wenn sie sich über spezielle Fragen der Kultur der tschechischen Sprache äußern. Die Publikationen des ersten Bandes vermitteln dem Leser das bedeutende wissenschaftliche Erbe der „klassischen Zeit“ der Prager Schule.

Der zweite Teil der „Grundlagen der Sprachkultur“ enthält Publikationen aus der jüngsten Zeit. Ziel der Veröffentlichung war die Förderung eines Gedankenaustausches über die Theorie der Literatursprache und die Praxis der Sprachpflege.

Die einleitende Abhandlung des Bandes (Verfasser: Karel Horálek) stellt eine Überleitung zwischen den zwei Epochen dar. Horálek beschreibt kurz die Geschichte der Prager Schule; er widmet dem Werk von Mathesius, des Begründers des Kreises besondere Aufmerksamkeit. Mit den ausführlichen Zitaten aus den Werken von Mathesius und anderen Mitgliedern des Linguistenkreises verfolgt der Autor zwei Ziele: er will die Ausbildung und Verbreitung des Funktionsbegriffes in der Sprachwissenschaft in ihren historischen und wissenschaftstheoretischen Zusammenhängen erfassen und den Leser mit den nur in tschechischer Fassung vorliegenden Arbeiten der Prager Linguisten bekannt machen.

Die elf Beiträge des Buches behandeln inhaltlich ziemlich unterschiedliche Teilgebiete der Sprachkultur, wie Lexikographie, Orthographie oder muttersprach-

lichen Unterricht. Aber in diesen inhaltlich so verschiedenen Arbeiten kommt doch eine beinahe einheitliche Auffassung über das Wesen der Literatursprache, ihrer Kodifizierung zum Ausdruck, so daß die Heterogenität der Themen den Leser keinesfalls stört. Der Beitrag von Alois Jedlička (Theorie der Literatursprache) beschäftigt sich mit den allgemeinen Fragen der Theorie der Literatursprache. Seiner überblickhaften Darstellung des bisherigen Forschungsstandes legt Jedlička jedoch kein klares eigenes Konzept zugrunde; so bleibt der Leser ziemlich ratlos, welche der skizzierten Standpunkte der Autor ablehnt und welche er für richtig hält.

Die zwei Beiträge von František Daneš (Dialektische Tendenzen in der Entwicklung der Literatursprachen, Zur Theorie des sprachlichen Zeichensystems) gehören zu den aufschlußreichsten Arbeiten des Bandes. Obwohl beide schon in den sechziger Jahren erschienen sind, enthalten die für den Band überarbeiteten und ergänzten Fassungen so viele aufregende Fragestellungen und aktuelle Problemlösungen, als ob sie in der jüngsten Zeit geschrieben worden wären.

Besonders fesselnd sind seine Ausführungen über die dialektischen Tendenzen in den Einstellungen und im Verhalten der Sprachbenutzer zu ihrer Muttersprache. Er unterscheidet 1. instrumentale (oder pragmatische) Einstellungen, 2. ethische Einstellungen, 3. affektive Einstellungen und 4. traditionelle Einstellungen. Man kann den Schlußfolgerungen des Autors nur zustimmen, daß man sich von dem Ballast des Nationalismus auch im Bereich der Sprachkultur befreien muß. „Bisher war das Verhältnis der Sprachgemeinschaft zu der nationalen Literatursprachen oft zu wenig rational begründet. [...] Es wäre sinnvoller, bestimmte Erscheinungen soweit es angebracht erscheint, zu vereinfachen, zu rationalisieren, Ballast (auch wenn er durch Traditionen geheiligt ist) abzuwerfen und gewisse Prozesse zu automatisieren, damit man wertvolle menschliche

Energie für neue, wichtigere Aufgaben und Situationen gewinnt, die große geistige und schöpferische Kräfte verlangen“. (111–2)

Die klare Sicht des Wissenschaftlers erweist sich auch in der Abhandlung über die Theorie des sprachlichen Zeichensystems. Die Einführung der Kategorien *Zentrum, Übergang, Peripherie* ermöglicht ihm, ein elastisches Zeichensystem aufzubauen, das mehr dem Wesen der Sprache entspricht als eine „erschöpfende Klassifikation aller Elemente in eine bestimmte Anzahl von zueinander in Opposition stehenden/oppositionalen Kategorien“. (132) Die auch im Ungarischen vorkommende Übergangsphänomene, z. B. in der Morphologie haben gezeigt, daß nicht jedes Element alle relevanten Merkmale seiner Klasse aufweist. Das würde auch dem Prinzip der Veränderung in der Sprache widersprechen, da das System zu keiner Zeit als statisch angesehen werden kann, weil es auch Elemente von vergangenen Epochen und Keime neuer Regeln enthält.

Die Analyse von Daneš gibt in ihrem klaren Gedankengang Anregungen zum Weiterdenken, und obwohl sie zu der Thematik des Bandes nicht ganz zu passen scheint, ist sie zweifellos der bedeutendste Beitrag des Bandes.

Der Beitrag von Miloš Dokulil und Jaroslav Kuchař (Zum Norm der Literatursprache und ihrer Kodifizierung) behandelt die zentralen Kategorien der Sprachkultur. Obwohl diese Kategorien auch von den Klassikern der Prager Schule genügend diskutiert worden sind (siehe den ersten Band), bleiben sie zweifellos auch in unseren Tagen aktuell für die Theorie und Praxis der Sprachkultur und Sprachpolitik. Die erwünschte „elastische Stabilität“ der Literatursprache erfordert bei der kodifizierenden Tätigkeit der Sprachwissenschaftler besondere Vorsicht. Wir dürfen die verschiedenen Arten der Kodifizierung der literatursprachlichen Norm keinesfalls als unveränderliches und für alle Zeit verbindliches Regelsystem auffassen. Die Kodifizierung soll einerseits die erwünschte Stabilität fördern, andererseits aber darf

sie die Fortentwicklung nicht behindern. Wie die Autoren schreiben: „Die Kodifizierung gibt sich den Anschein der Endgültigkeit, sie muß sich aber wandeln, wenn die Notwendigkeit dazu eintritt, d. h. wenn es zu Veränderungen in der literatursprachlichen Norm kommt. Außerdem ist zu berücksichtigen, daß eine Kodifizierung die sprachliche Norm nie ganz genau und vollständig erfassen kann, daß sie immer nur deren unvollkommenes Abbild bleibt.“ (121)

Verschiedene Teilgebiete der literatursprachlichen Norm und Kodifizierung beschreiben die Beiträge von Josef Filipec (Sprachkultur und Lexikographie), Milan Romportl (Gesprochene Sprache und Sprechkultur), Miloš Dokulil (Grundsätzliches zur Verwendung von Großbuchstaben in Orthographiesystemen). Diese Abhandlungen — es liegt wohl in der Natur der Sache — sind in erster Linie von praktischem Interesse. Die Praxis der Lexikographie und Orthographie entwickelt sich auch in Nachbarländern auf verschiedenen Wegen. Die einsprachigen Wörterbücher deskriptiven und präskriptiven Charakters richten sich an breite Benutzerkreise, das Wörterbuch der tschechischen Aussprache an einen wesentlich kleineren. Die Beschreibung von Grundlagen und Vorarbeiten der einzelnen Wörterbücher ist für die Fachleute auf diesem Gebiet von großem Interesse, aber sie gehören zu den Arbeiten, die ihre Aktualität rasch verlieren. Es ist nur bedingt sinnvoll, solche spezielle Fragen der tschechischen Sprachkultur in einen für einen internationalen Leserkreis bestimmten Band einzubeziehen.

Der Beitrag von Jiří Kraus (Zu soziolinguistischen Aspekten der Sprachkultur in der Tschechoslowakei) eröffnet Perspektiven für die Anwendung soziolinguistischer Methoden in der Sprachkultur. Im Mittelpunkt der Aufmerksamkeit des Autors steht die Kommunikationssituation, in der die Beziehungen zwischen sprachlichen und anderen sozialen Erscheinungen deutlich werden. Kraus erörtert in seiner Abhandlung theoretische und methodische

Fragen. Da auch ich der Meinung bin, daß für die Kodifizierung auf verschiedenen Ebenen der Sprache die Anwendung soziolinguistischer, insbesondere statistischer Methoden von besonderem Nutzen sein kann, warte ich gespannt auf die praktischen Ergebnisse dieser Forschungsrichtung.

Die Abhandlung von Antonín Tejnor und seinem Kollektiv (Soziolinguistische Untersuchungen zur Sprachkultur. Probleme der tschechischen Orthographie und des Fremdwortgebrauchs im Spiegel der öffentlichen Meinung) befaßt sich mit einem vielsagenden Experiment. In der Tschechoslowakei zeigt die Öffentlichkeit, ebenso wie in Ungarn, lebhaftes Interesse an Fragen der Orthographie und die Kenntnis der orthographischen Regeln wird allgemein als Merkmal von Bildung und Kultur angesehen. Die Befragung von Bürgern über eine eventuelle Orthographiereform ist sehr aufschlußreich. Das Ergebnis wäre wahrscheinlich auch in Ungarn ähnlich. Auf die Frage, ob sie einer durchgreifenden Neuregelung der Rechtschreibung zustimmen würden oder nicht, zeigten 47% der Befragten eine positive Einstellung. Bei konkreten Fragen ändert sich das Bild erheblich, es stellt sich nämlich heraus, daß eine radikale Vereinfachung der Rechtschreibung eher eine negative Reaktion hervorrufen würde. Diese empirische Untersuchung bestätigt, daß „die öffentliche Meinung über die Sprache hinter dem tatsächlichen Stand der Sprache (hinter dem Entwicklungsstand der Norm und ihrer Kodifizierung) und ebenfalls hinter der sprachwissenschaftlichen Theorie und ihren Erkenntnissen zurückbleibt.“ (301)

Dies bestärkt die Überzeugung, daß eine Orthographiereform keinesfalls unter dem Druck der öffentlichen Meinung zustandekommen darf. Bei einer Neuregelung der Rechtschreibung darf der Linguist nicht auf die dringende Nachfrage der Öffentlichkeit warten, wie z. B. in der Frage der Eliminierung des *ly* im Ungarischen.

In den beiden abschließenden Beiträgen werden zwei Gebiete der Praxis der Sprachkultur behandelt (Alexander Stich: Stil der Publizistik und Der Muttersprachunterricht an den tschechischen Schulen). Die Charakteristik des publizistischen Stils wird von dem Autor detailliert diskutiert. Die Aufgaben der Sprachkultur auf dem Gebiet des publizistischen Stils und der Schule stehen klar vor uns. Die bei dieser Arbeit anzuwendenden Methoden werden sich erst bei dem Meinungsaustausch der Fachleute dieser Gebiete herauskristallisieren.

Die sorgfältige Arbeit der Redaktion ist das Ergebnis der beispielhaften Zusammenarbeit des Zentralinstitutes der AdW und des Prager Ústav pro jazyk český.

Agnes Huszár

Erzsébet Beöthy: Hongaars. Fundamentele grammatica voor Nederlandstaligen. Met medewerking van Ynze A. Baumfalk. Dick Coutinho, Muiderberg 1983, 192 Seiten.

Das Werk von Erzsébet Beöthy ist — meines Wissens — die erste ungarische Grammatik für Niederländer. Schon wegen dieser Tatsache allein ist das Entstehen des Werkes von großer Bedeutung. Dazu kommt noch, daß die ungarische Sprache und Kultur in einer Sprachgemeinschaft „propagiert“ wird — im guten Sinne des Wortes — die unter beträchtlichem Einfluß der drei großen Nachbarkulturen — der englischen, deutschen und französischen — steht, und wo man über die ungarische Sprache und Kultur weniger weiß, als man das in Ungarn glaubt. So ist dieses Buch sozusagen als eine Brücke zu betrachten, die voneinander entfernte Menschen und Kulturen einander näher bringt.

Darum ist es sehr angebracht und nützlich, daß vor der eigentlichen Grammatik einleitend über die finnisch-ugrische Sprachfamilie, den Werdegang des Ungari-

schen und seine speziellen, für Sprecher einer germanischen Sprache besonders ungewöhnlicher Merkmale Informationen gegeben werden.

Auf diese Einleitung folgt eine beschreibende, einigermaßen normative Grammatik in der ganz traditionellen Auffassung: „Lautlehre, Das Verb, Die Nomina, Einige syntaktische Bemerkungen“ — sind die Titel der Hauptkapitel. Eine Wortbildungslehre steht nach der Behandlung der einzelnen Wortarten.

Wie aus dem Vorwort hervorgeht, ist diese Grammatik als praktisches Handbuch bestimmt sowohl für den Unterricht an der Universität als auch für alle Interessenten, und diesem Ziel entspricht sie vollkommen. Der größte Wert des Werkes ist vielleicht — es ist ja das einzige seiner Art — das es eine vollständige, alle wichtigen Erscheinungen des Ungarischen berücksichtigende Grammatik ist. Keine „Basisgrammatik“, kein Lehrbuch „leicht und schnell Ungarisch“, sondern ein brauchbares Handbuch, wo der Lernende alle grammatische Kenntnisse findet, die er zum praktischen Erlernen der ungarischen Gegenwartssprache braucht. Dazu dient auch das reiche Beispielmateriale. Diese Grammatik ist also kein wissenschaftliches Werk — doch ist sie wissenschaftlich anspruchsvoll verfaßt (siehe z. B. die phonologischen Betrachtungen). Vollständigkeit, praktischer Wert, wissenschaftlicher Gesichtspunkt — diese Dinge sind schwer miteinander zu vereinbaren. Der Autorin gelang es, die damit zusammenhängenden Gefahren zu vermeiden. Während sie Vollständigkeit anstrebt, verweilt sie nicht bei den kleinen Details, die richtigen Proportionen bleiben bewahrt. Daß sie die praktische Brauchbarkeit vor Augen hält, führt nicht zur vulgären Vereinfachung; und die wissenschaftliche Gründlichkeit schadet der praktischen Übersichtlichkeit und Verständlichkeit nicht.

Trotz dieser allgemeinen Verdienste hat das Werk einige Mängel, die durch Lektorierung vor dem Erscheinen hätten

vermieden werden können. In den Niederlanden werden Bücher ohne die in Ungarn verpflichtende Lektorierung herausgegeben, damit entfällt für die Autoren eine große Hilfe.

Wir haben einige methodologische Bemerkungen. Die Behandlung der unbestimmten und der bestimmten Konjugation ist komplizierter als notwendig. Der Leser bekommt den falschen Eindruck, daß die Konjugation der intransitiven Verben und die der transitiven Verben ohne bestimmtes Objekt zwei verschiedene Sachen wären, und es wird nicht ganz klar, wieviel Konjugationen es überhaupt im Ungarischen gibt. Die zwei Konjugationen im Ungarischen bilden — nach Erfahrung — die größte Schwierigkeit für Fremdsprachige, darum ist es sehr wichtig, die Behandlung dieser Frage sehr zu beachten. Und überhaupt sollte die Erklärung das Erklärte nicht komplizierter, sondern eher einfacher erscheinen lassen, als es in der Wirklichkeit ist. Ähnlicherweise viel zu kompliziert — mit unnötigen Wiederholungen, nicht geschickt geordnet — wird das ungarische Lautsystem erörtert.

Eine zweite methodologische Bemerkung: obwohl man im Buch im allgemeinen reichlich Beispiele findet, kommt es auch vor, daß mehrere „Regel“ aufgezählt, mehrere Erscheinungen nacheinander erörtert werden, wobei der fremdsprachige Lernende nach jeder theoretischen Erklärung, sofort ein Beispiel brauchen würde. Diesen Fall haben wir z. B. in der Einleitung zu den Nomina und bei der Erörterung der dreierlei Morpheme, der Ableitungssuffixen, Zeichen und Kasusuffixen (89–90).

Es ist schwierig, für eine Sprachgemeinschaft ein radikal anderes Sprachsystem zu beschreiben. Unserer Meinung nach geht Erzsébet Beöthy zu sehr von der Sprachanschauung und Terminologie der Grammatik des Niederländischen aus. (Bei der Beschreibung des ungarischen Kasussystems gebraucht sie z. B. die in den niederländischen Grammatiken üblichen Termini „1. Fall“ ‘Nominativ’, „2. Fall“

‘Genitiv’, „3. Fall“ ‘Dativ’) Die Absicht der Autorin ist wahrscheinlich das Begreifen und Verdauen den Niederländern zu erleichtern. Man müßte eher die „germanische Anschauung“ vergessen, und das andere System mutig in seiner eigenen Struktur beschreiben.

Mit einigen Feststellungen und Formulierungen sind wir nicht einverstanden. So z. B. daß es im Ungarischen vier Modi gibt: „er bestaan vier wijzen (modi) van het werkwoord: de onbepaalde wijs, de aantonende wijs, de z. g. aansporende wijs en de aanvoegende wijs,“ (wobei „de onbepaalde wijs“ der niederländische Name für den Infinitiv ist.)

Es ist auch nicht glücklich, das „participium instans“ des Ungarischen „gerundivum“ zu nennen. Zwar kommt der Terminus „gerundivum“ für dieses Partizip in der Fachliteratur vor (Duden-Grammatik; Hans Herrfurth: Niederländisches Lehrbuch. VEB Verlag Enzyklopädie Leipzig 1974.), doch kann sein Gebrauch zu Mißverständnissen führen, weil dieser Terminus in der Grammatik des Englischen und des Französischen andere grammatische Formen bezeichnet. Die Berufung auf die Terminologie der lateinischen Grammatik (s. bei Herrfurth) ist für das Ungarische auch nicht gerechtfertigt, weil das lateinische „gerundivum“ nur das „participium instans passivum“ bedeutet, das die Notwendigkeit der Handlung ausdrückt.

In der Einzahl 2. Person des Imperativs werden sowohl die längeren als auch die kürzeren Formen erwähnt (*lökj* — *lökjél*, *lök* — *lökjed*), wobei bemerkt wird, daß die längeren Formen umgangssprachlich sind (S. 59). Richtiger wäre den stilistischen Unterschied hervorzuheben. Siehe: „A művelt nyelvhasználat ma egy kissé jobban kedveli a tömörebb alakot azonban — legálább egyes tájak szokásában — a rövidebb változat valamelyest érelyesebb hangulatú.“ (A mai magyar nyelv rendszere. Akadémiai Kiadó 1961, 511).

Wir sind mit der Autorin nicht einverstanden, daß es sich bei Sätzen wie *Nincs, akivel magyarul beszéljek, Alkalma*

van arra, hogy megnézzé a kiállítást (60–61) um Finalsätze handelt. Der Irrtum entsteht dadurch, daß diese Sätze meistens mit einem *om + te + Infinitiv*-Konstruktion ins Niederländische übersetzt werden. Die *om + te + Infinitiv*-Konstruktion wird im Niederländischen ursprünglich bei Finalsätzen gebraucht, aber sie kommt immer häufiger vor bei Objekt- und Subjeksätzen, wo eine *te + Infinitiv*-Konstruktion ohne *om* genauso richtig ist.

Aus methodologischen Gesichtspunkten wäre es gut, wenn der Leser oder Lernende auf die Unterschiede ausdrücklicher aufmerksam gemacht würde. Z. B. im Satz *Mutasd meg, mit tudsz* (S. 157) ist für einen Niederländer nicht überraschend, daß das Bindewort *hogy* und im Hauptsatz das Demonstrativpronomen *azt* wegbleiben kann, aber ungewöhnlich ist gerade, daß diese im Satz vorkommen können.

Ein Lektor, der diese Grammatik vor dem Erscheinen beurteilt, würde bei einer ganzen Reihe kleiner Einzelheiten eine Veränderung (andere Formulierung, andere Beispiele) vorschlagen. An dieser Stelle will man doch den allgemeinen Wert des Buches beurteilen. Es wäre gleichfalls nützlich gewesen, die Druckfehler zu bemerken, von denen einige wohl störend sind (z. B. *hosszat* mit zwei *t*, *egy évvel ezelőtt* gerade bei der Behandlung der Assimilation des Suffixes *-val-vel*).

Mit all diesen kritischen Bemerkungen wollen wir die Verdienste der ungarischen Grammatik von Erzsébet Beöthy nicht leugnen, wir wollen damit mit der Autorin eher sozusagen diskutieren. Sie hat eine bahnbrechende und respektvolle Tat vollbracht, ein Buch geschrieben, wovon man weiß, daß es nötig ist, aber naturgemäß nie ein Bestseller wird. Sie fand kein neues wissenschaftliches Ergebnis, sie schuf „nur“ ein sehr nützliches und brauchbares Handbuch. Wir wünschen der Autorin weitere Auflagen!

Erzsébet Mollay

Sámuel Gyarmathi: Grammatical Proof of the Affinity of the Hungarian Language with Languages of Fennic Origin. Translated, annotated, and introduced by Victor E. Hanzeli. University of Washington Seattle, Washington. John Benjamins Publishing Company Amsterdam/Philadelphia 1983, LX + 327 S.

In unseren Tagen kommt es vor, daß der eine oder der andere Forscher dem Schaffen der vor uns tätig gewesenen Generationen beinahe allen Wert abspricht. Es gibt aber auch solche Forscher, die das Schaffen der älteren Vertreter der Sprachwissenschaft eingehend studieren, für ihre Forschungsergebnisse Rechnung tragen, und sie objektiv zu werten bestrebt sind. Diesem Umstand ist es zuzuschreiben, daß die Arbeit der ungarischen Bahnbrecher der vergleichenden Sprachwissenschaft noch nicht in Vergessenheit geraten ist. Es gab sogar mehrere Forscher, die viel Zeit und Energie geopfert haben, um die entwicklungsgeschichtliche Bedeutung dieser ungarischen Wissenschaftler zu beleuchten. Ich denke hier an János Sajnovics und Sámuel Gyarmathi, die im Laufe der beiden letzten Jahrzehnte sowohl von der Seite ungarischer als auch nichtungarischer Forscher mehrere Male gewürdigt wurden. Im Zusammenhang mit Sajnovics soll hier daran erinnert werden, daß sein Werk *Demonstratio Idioma Ungarorum et Lapponum idem esse*, genauer gesagt dessen Ausgabe von Nagyszombat (Tyrnaviae) mit dem Vorwort Thomas A. Sebeoks 1968 in den Vereinigten Staaten wieder erschienen ist (Indiana University Publications. Uralic and Altaic Series. Editor: Thomas A. Sebeok, Volume 91), und auf diese Weise wurde dieses berühmte Werk den Forschern der Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft wieder zugänglich. Es soll hier auch erwähnt werden, daß das Werk Sajnovics' im Jahre 1972 unter dem Titel „Beweis, daß die Sprache der Ungarn und der Lappen dieselbe ist“ (Aus dem Lateinischen übertragen von Monika Ehlers. Mit Anmerkun-

gen und Nachwort herausgegeben von Gyula Décsy und Wolfgang Veenker. In Kommission bei Otto Harrassowitz. Wiesbaden, 163 S.) auch in deutscher Übersetzung erschienen ist. Noch vor dem Erscheinen dieser Übersetzung wurde der Verfasser dieser Zeilen mit seiner kleinen Monographie „Sajnovics János“ (A múlt magyar tudósai [Die ungarischen Wissenschaftler der Vergangenheit]. Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó 1973, 248 S.) fertig geworden. Es soll noch darauf hingewiesen werden, daß in Ungarn anläßlich des Erscheinens der Demonstratio im Jahre 1970 eine Gedenkfeier samt einem wissenschaftsgeschichtlichen Symposium veranstaltet wurde, und auch die hier gehaltenen Vorträge zur besseren Kenntnis Sajnovics' und seiner Demonstratio beigetragen haben (vgl. A Magyar Nyelvtudományi Társaság Kiadványai [Publikationen der Ungarischen Sprachwissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft], Nr. 131. Budapest 1974, 157 S.).

Sámuel Gyarmathi (1751–1830) hat mehrere Werke geschrieben, die die Aufmerksamkeit der Forscher der Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft verdienen. Unter ihnen ist vor allem seine Untersuchung „Affinitas Linguae Hungaricae cum Linguis Fennicae originis grammaticae demonstrata“ (Göttingen 1799) zu nennen. Dieses Werk hat nämlich dem Verfasser unter den Bahnbrechern der vergleichenden Sprachwissenschaft einen vornehmen Platz gesichert. Ein Zeichen für die Erkenntnis und Anerkennung dieser Tatsache erblicken wir in dem Umstand, daß die Universität Indiana auch die Affinitas Gyarmathis in neuer Auflage veröffentlicht hat (Indiana University Publications. Uralic and Altaic Series. Editor: Thomas A. Sebeok. Volume 95, 380 S. Der Band wird von der Abhandlung Miklós Zsirais „Sámuel Gyarmathi, Hungarian Pioneer of Comparative Linguistics“ eingeleitet). Im weiteren zeigte sich das Interesse für die Affinitas in derselben Form wie das für die Demonstratio. János Gulya publizierte im Jahre 1978 eine Abhandlung unter dem Titel „Gyarmathi Sámuel“ (A

múlt magyar tudósai. Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 202 S.), in der er den Inhalt der Affinitas eingehend besprochen und ihre Bedeutung dargelegt hat. Und nun können wir mit Freude berichten, daß wie die Publikation der Demonstratio, so auch die Neuerscheinung der Affinitas von einer Übersetzung in eine Weltsprache begleitet wurde: „Grammatical Proof of the Affinity of The Hungarian Language with Languages of Fennic Origin“, translated, annotated, and introduced by Victor E. Hanzeli. University of Washington (Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science. General Editor E. F. Konrad Koerner. Series I. Amsterdam Classics in Linguistics, 1800–1926, Volume 15. John Benjamins Publishing Company. Amsterdam/Philadelphia 1983, 327 S.). Das Interesse des Übersetzers, V. E. Hanzelis, für die Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft ist seit lange bekannt. Es war doch eben Hanzeli, der anläßlich des Sajnovics-Symposiums, also vor 13 Jahren, die Bedeutung der Sprachwissenschaft des XVII. und XVIII. Jahrhunderts erörtert hat. Er hat auch ein Zeugnis für sein Interesse speziell für das Schaffen Gyarmathis abgelegt: er hat nämlich J. Gulyas Monographie über Gyarmathi in der Zeitschrift „Historiographia Linguistica“ eingehend besprochen.

Die englischsprachige Affinitas wird von der Vorrede des Übersetzers eingeleitet. Hieraus erfahren wir, daß sich die Übersetzung der Affinitas auf der in der Serie der Universität Indiana erschienenen Faksimileausgabe gründet. Der Übersetzer nahm aber auch andere Übersetzungen in Betracht, so z. B. diejenige, die sich im Besitz der Bibliothek der Harvard-Universität befindet, und weiter das Exemplar des Lyzeums von Zilah und das der Babeş-Bolyai Universität in Kolozsvár (Klausenburg). Auch die Fußnoten Gyarmathis wurden berücksichtigt, die in dem Exemplar von Zilah zu lesen sind. Der Übersetzer setzte dem Text hie und da auch eigene Bemerkungen zu.

Der Vorrede des Übersetzers folgen die Darstellung des Lebenslaufs Gyarmathis und die Wertung der Affinitas. Es ist natürlich, daß der Übersetzer auch viele solche Kenntnisse mitteilt, die uns vorherhin bekannt sind, die Vorrede enthält aber auch manches solches, was z. B. gegenüber Gulyas Monographie ein plus bedeutet. Hanzeli informiert nämlich seine Leser davon, welche historische Faktoren die Verhältnisse des kleinen Landes gestalteten, wo Gyarmathi geboren wurde. Gyarmathi wurde nämlich 1751 in Kolozsvár (Klausenburg) geboren, also in einer Stadt, die damals als politisches, wirtschaftliches und kulturelles Zentrum der Ungaren in Erdély (Transsilvanien) galt. Hanzeli weist darauf hin, daß der größte Teil Ungarns in der Zeit zwischen 1526 und 1699 von Türken besetzt ja sogar ein Großteil des Landes damals von ihnen verwüstet war. Man kann sagen, daß bloß Transsilvanien samt den Städten Nord-Ungarns den Teil des Landes bildete, der zwischen dem osmanischen Reich und dem Einflußbereich der Habsburger eine Art Unabhängigkeit genoß und gleichzeitig die Traditionen des ungarischen geistigen und kulturellen Lebens bewahrte. Im weiteren berichtet Hanzeli seine Leser davon, daß Transsilvanien nach der Aufhörng der türkischen Herrschaft unter die Oberhoheit der Habsburger gelangte und auf diese Weise der Schauplatz einer schonungslosen Germanisierung wurde. Kaiser Josef der Zweite führte die deutsche Sprache als offizielle Sprache des Landes ein, und es begann der Kampf für die Unifizierung Transsilvaniens mit den übrigen Teilen des Reiches der Habsburger. Gegen diesen politischen Druck offenbarte sich der Widerstand der Ungaren vor allem in der Form des Kampfes für die Bewahrung der ungarischen Sprache. Die Pflege der Nationalsprache wurde zum wichtigen kulturellen Symbol und bekam gleichzeitig politischen Inhalt mit besonderer Wichtigkeit. Die Fragen der Sprachpflege erweckten und fesselten das Interesse breiter Kreise. Dies ist der Hintergrund,

den wir kennen müssen, um verstehen zu können: warum in Gyarmathi ein reges Interesse für die ungarische Sprache und die Sprachen im allgemeinen so früh erwachte und warum ihn im Laufe seiner wissenschaftlichen Entwicklung die Frage nach den Verwandtschaftsverbindungen der ungarischen Sprache beschäftigte. Ohne die Kenntnis dieses Kapitels in Hanzelis Buch bliebe es für die ausländischen Forscher der Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft ein Rätsel, wie Gyarmathi, dessen Geburtsstadt heute auf dem Gebiet Rumäniens liegt, sich zu einem der Bahnbrecher der vergleichenden finnisch-ugrischen Sprachwissenschaft ausgewachsen hat. Dieses Kapitel der englischen Übersetzung der Affinitas stellt uns Hanzeli als einen Forscher mit breitem Horizont dar, der sich mit bloßer Mitteilung von Angaben nicht begnügt, sondern die Entstehung und Entwicklung der vergleichenden finnisch-ugrischen Sprachwissenschaft unter Einbeziehung historischer und kulturgeschichtlicher Fakta beleuchtet.

Nach der Besprechung der Studien Gyarmathis und der Erläuterung seines Aufenthaltes in Göttingen stellt Hanzeli die Affinitas in die Reihe der Forschungen, deren Ziel war, die Verwandtschaftsverhältnisse der ungarischen Sprache zu klären. Kurz erwähnt er auch, daß man Ende des XVII. und Anfang des XVIII. Jahrhunderts versuchte, das Ungarische mit vielen anderen Sprachen in Verwandtschaftsverhältnis zu bringen. Nachher stellt er — aufgrund der Untersuchungen Zsirais und vieler anderer — die wichtigsten Stationen der finnisch-ugrischen Sprachvergleichung dar. Dabei widmet er besondere Aufmerksamkeit der *Demonstratio Sajnovics'*. Hanzeli stellt fest, daß das Ziel Gyarmathis ursprünglich nichts anderes war als die Modernisierung der *Demonstratio* aufgrund des zwischen 1770 und 1796 angesammelten Sprachmaterials. Das weitläufige Interesse für die Sprachen in Göttingen sowie sein eigenes Interesse für seine Muttersprache gaben ihm aber Anlaß, seine Forschungen

auf weit größeres Gebiet, als Sajnovics getan hatte, auszubreiten und die Ausarbeitung der Affinitas in Angriff zu nehmen.

Bevor Hanzeli die Affinitas auf englisch vor uns erschließt, behandelt er auf einigen Seiten (XX–XXIII.) die Sprachwissenschaft des XVIII. Jahrhunderts im allgemeinen. Er widerlegt die Ansicht, die diese Wissenschaft für unwissenschaftlich bzw. „vorwissenschaftlich“ erklärt und hebt hervor, daß die Sprachwissenschaft des XVIII. Jahrhunderts sowohl in der Gruppierung der Sprachen als auch in der Ausarbeitung der Prinzipien, nach denen diese Gruppierung geschehen sollte, beachtungswerte Resultate erzielt hat. Er schätzt z. B. die Verdienste hoch, die im Zusammenhang mit der Gruppierung der Sprachen J. J. Scaliger (1540–1609) erworben hat, und weist darauf hin, daß die Wichtigkeit der strukturellen Übereinstimmungen außer den Wortvergleichen bereits von Hiob Ludolf (1624–1704) erkannt wurde. Hanzeli erwähnt auch den Umstand, daß die Frage nach der Methode der Etymologisierung bereits die Sprachforscher des XVIII. Jahrhunderts beschäftigt hat. Sie waren im klaren damit, welche Wörter zweier oder mehrerer Sprachen als etymologisch identisch angesehen werden und wie von ihnen die Lehnwörter dieser Sprachen unterschieden werden können. Bezüglich dieser Frage lenkt er unsere Aufmerksamkeit vor allem auf A. R. J. Turgot (1727–81), und er hebt die Bedeutung der Etymologien bei der Aufklärung der Urgeschichte der Völker hervor.

Im weiteren legt Hanzeli den Aufbau der Affinitas dar. Dies Werk ist nämlich nicht einheitlich: besteht aus drei kurzen Abhandlungen (*fasciculus*) und drei Anhängen (*appendix*). Daß Gyarmathi die Verwandtschaft des Ungarischen mit den übrigen finnisch-ugrischen Sprachen vor allem durch strukturelle Übereinstimmungen, nicht aber durch Wortvergleichen nachzuweisen bestrebt war, verrät uns bereits der Titel seines Werkes (vgl.

„*grammaticae demonstrata*“). In der ersten Abhandlung behandelt er die strukturellen Übereinstimmungen, die er einerseits zwischen dem Ungarischen, andererseits dem Finnischen und dem Lappischen festgestellt hat. Diese Übereinstimmungen zeigen sich in der Deklination, in der Bildung des Komparativs der Adjektiva, in der Form der Numeralien, im Bildungssuffix der Ordnungszahlen, in der Lautform und Anwendung der Pronomina und der Possessivsuffixe, in der Konjugation, in der Bildung der Verba usw. Eine ganze Reihe Übereinstimmungen finden sich auf dem Gebiet der Syntax. Zum Schluß teilt Gyarmathi auch Wortvergleichen mit. Durch die mangelhafte Kenntnis der nördlichen finnisch-ugrischen Sprachen erklärt sich, daß er das Lappische mit dem Finnischen in einen Topf wirft, wogegen er das Estnische als eine selbständige finnisch-ugrische Sprache behandelt.

Die zweite Abhandlung in der Affinitas stellt die Beweise der estnisch-ungarischen Sprachverwandtschaft in derselben Einteilung wie die der ungarisch-finnisch-lappischen Verwandtschaft dar.

Die dritte Abhandlung ist im Vergleich zu den beiden ersten stark skizzenhaft. Sie enthält ungarisch-wotjakisch-tscheremissisch-wogulisch-permjakische Grundzahlwörter, tscheremissisch-ungarische possessive Paradigmen und tscheremissisch-wotjakisch-ungarische Konjugationsformen. Zur Ergänzung werden Wortvergleichen aus mehreren Sprachen mitgeteilt. Einigen von ihnen sind irrtümlicherweise auch tschuwassische Wörter beigelegt. Zu erwähnen ist noch eine Liste mit ungarisch-ostjakisch-samojedischen Wortvergleichen. Während der Ausarbeitung seiner Untersuchung hat nämlich Gyarmathi bemerkt, daß manche ostjakische Wörter den ungarischen Wörtern näher stehen, als die Entsprechungen in übrigen verwandten Sprachen.

Die Affinitas verdient unsere Aufmerksamkeit nicht nur vom Gesichtspunkt der Geschichte der vergleichenden finnisch-ugrischen Sprachwissenschaft, sondern

auch von dem der speziell ungarischen Sprachwissenschaft. Sie befaßt sich nämlich auch mit den fremden Elementen des ungarischen Wortschatzes. Der erste Appendix zählt eine Reihe ungarisch-türkische Übereinstimmungen auf, und der andere weist auf zahlreiche slavische Elemente des ungarischen Wortschatzes hin.

Über die wissenschaftsgeschichtliche Bedeutung der *Affinitas* können wir in zahlreichen finnisch-ugrischen und anderen zusammenfassenden Werken bzw. Monographien lesen. In ihren Hauptzügen läßt sie sich folgendermaßen summieren: 1. ihr Verfasser gehört zu den ersten unter den Sprachforschern, die in der Frage nach Sprachverwandtschaft den grammatikalischen Übereinstimmungen entscheidende Bedeutung zuschrieben, 2. die *Affinitas* ist die erste Untersuchung, worin sich der Nachweis der Verwandtschaft auf sämtliche finnisch-ugrische Sprachen erstreckt.

Als Victor E. Hanzeli durch seine Übersetzung die *Affinitas* den heutigen Forschern der Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft in weitem Kreise zugänglich machte, lieferte er einen wichtigen Beitrag zur Wertung der Vergangenheit der ungarischen Wissenschaft. Nicht zu vergessen ist auch der Umstand, daß sich die Fachkreise nunmehr über die Bedeutung der *Affinitas* nicht nur durch einige lobende Attribute mancher alter Fachwerke einen Begriff bilden können, sondern sich darüber auch durch das eingehende Studium der einzelnen Partien dieser bedeutenden Untersuchung überzeugen können. Die Arbeit Hanzelis war schwierig und zeitraubend, das Resultat ist auch qualitativ hochwertig. Der Übersetzer verdient jedenfalls die weitgehende Anerkennung der ungarischen wissenschaftlichen Kreise.

Gy. Lakó

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(1) (a)	A	sólymaid	elszálltak
	the	falcon-gen-pl-2sg	away-flew-3pl
	'Your falcons have flown away'.		

Examples can be referred to in the text as (1a), (1a-d), etc.

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